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IRELAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

OR

THE IRISH MASSACRES OF 1641–2.

LONDON: PRINTED BY
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IRELAND

IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

OR

THE IRISH MASSACRES OF 1641–2,

THEIR CAUSES AND RESULTS.

Illustrated by Extracts from the unpublished State Papers, the unpublished MSS in the Bodleian Library, Lambeth Library, and the Library of the Royal Dublin Society relating to the Plantations of 1610–39; *a Selection from the unpublished Depositions relating to the Massacres, with fac-similes; and the Reports of the Trials in the High Court of Justice in* 1652-4, *from the unpublished MSS in Trinity College, Dublin.*

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BY

MARY HICKSON.

WITH A PREFACE BY J. A. FROUDE, M.A.

VOLUME I.

'Our ancestors were guilty of abominable and atrocious crimes, to which the present generation, thank God, looks back with all the horror and indignation they deserve.' (*Historical Address to the Irish Catholics by* Rev. C. O'CONNOR, D.D.)

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PREFACE.

This book needs no prefatory recommendation from me or from any one. It tells its own story, and will recommend itself by its internal merits. Nevertheless I am glad to welcome a publication which may bring about a solution of a most important historical question. The great rebellion of 1641 broke out on the 23rd of October of that year, and was alleged to have been accompanied by a series of massacres of helpless unarmed Protestant colonists, many of them women and children, who had in some cases been promised protection and a safe convoy to English garrisons by the Irish insurgents. On the recovery of the country the estates of the insurgent Irish gentry were confiscated by the Long Parliament, and were sold to pay the cost of the reconquest. A High Court of Justice sat to try the survivors charged with being actors in the massacre, and such of them as were found guilty were executed. Protestants who had retaliated upon the Catholic Irish, at Isle Magee and other places, by crimes of a similar kind, were also tried and variously punished. The anniversary of the day on which the insurrection broke out was observed with peculiar solemnity for a hundred years. The Irish massacres of 1641 became part of European history, and held a place of infamy by the side of the Sicilian Vespers and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

We are now asked to believe that the entire story was a

fabrication, invented by the Puritan English as an excuse for stripping the Irish of their lands; that there never was any massacre at all; that not a Protestant was killed save in fair fight and open war; and that the evidence collected by commissions and published to deceive Europe is so extravagant that a glance suffices to detect its worthlessness. This account of the events of 1641 and of the years succeeding has been allowed to grow without serious contradiction till it has come to be universally received and believed by the Irish people, both at home and in America; and, being believed, it lies among the causes which have exasperated the Irish race into their present attitude. They regard themselves not only as having been robbed, but as having been made the victims of abominable calumnies. Nor is it only irresponsible agitators who tell them so, but reverend and grave historians, some of whom go so far as to say that there *could* have been no massacre. Thus, in the absence of any clear rejoinder, judgment is going by default, and we are sliding into an acknowledgment that the Long Parliament and their officers in Ireland were the real criminals, and successfully carried through a conspiracy so base and infamous that Sir Phelim O'Neil and his confederates seem innocent in comparison.

The Irish Rebellion and Cromwell's reconquest were not done in a corner. Catholic Europe, with the Pope at its head, was deeply interested in the struggle and the issue of it. The barbarities of which the Irish were accused and were said to have been found guilty were published to the world, and, involving as they did the character of a Catholic nation, it might have been expected their publication would have drawn forth at once an indignant contradiction. Hundreds of exiles who had been in Ireland at the beginning of the insurrection were scattered over France, Spain, and Italy, and might have repudiated, had they been able, the tremendous accusation against their countrymen. They did nothing of the kind. Individuals among them here and there after a lapse of years

asserted that they had no share in the massacres at Portadown, at Shrule, at Silver Mines, Portnaw, Macroom, and other places, but it never seems to have occurred to them to deny the general fact. And no writer of credit, Catholic or Protestant, who had lived through the rebellion thought of denying it. Not only Temple, Borlase and Clarendon, but the Catholics Clanricarde and Castlehaven, Father Walsh the Franciscan friar, Philip O'Reilly of Crom Castle, Mr. Kearney the Catholic brother of a Catholic bishop, with other Irish Catholic writers of the seventeenth century (whose narratives are hereafter printed for the first time from the Carte MSS.), all admit that massacres were committed, however they may venture to palliate or excuse those crimes. The Rev. Charles O'Connor, D.D., a highly respected Roman Catholic priest of the last century, made the same admission.

The confidence with which the innocence of the Irish of any such crimes is now insisted upon has been the growth of time; of the unwillingness of the English to keep alive painful memories when they trusted and hoped it was needless to do so because ancient enmities between classes and creeds and the two islands were fast dying out; and also of a consciousness on the part of the English that they have much to repent of in regard to Ireland, which has made them careless of defending themselves against particular charges. Yet passion ran hot in the seventeenth century, and in times of violent excitement right and wrong are strangely confused. Things antecedently improbable may have happened notwithstanding, and the modern popular Irish view of the matter may be the correct one after all. It may be so, but it has not yet been proved to be so: and on a question which touches so deeply English honour and affects the feeling between England and Ireland to this hour, no uncertainty should be allowed to rest which inquiry can remove. If this modern Irish theory, so confidently proclaimed by Irish popular orators and writers, is right, we are bound to admit it. The Long Parliament

committed a frightful crime which remains unatoned for; which ought to be publicly confessed; and atonement so far as possible ought to be made. On the other hand, merely to connive, from some feeble notion of conciliation, at the growth of a false theory so certain to envenom Irish feeling and widen the breach between the two nations, is as foolish as it is cowardly and wrong. No conciliation will be good for anything which rests on a basis of cowardly lies. There have been lies enough in our dealings with Ireland, and we know by this time what fruit has grown of them.

The evidence on which the Long Parliament professed to have acted is preserved in thirty-two volumes of MS. depositions in Trinity College, Dublin. Mr. Prendergast, in his 'Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland,' ignores or depreciates this evidence, and Mr. Prendergast carries weight as an authority, having been appointed by the Government to calendar the earlier Irish MSS. Mr. Gilbert, after being employed by the Historical MSS. Commission to report upon the depositions, has declared them to be utterly untrustworthy, invalid on the face of them. But Mr. Prendergast is prejudiced against the Cromwellians, and Mr. Gilbert's report is largely composed of extracts from Mr. Prendergast's works and from violent Nationalist writers like Curry and Carey. It is true that Mr. Gilbert, whose labours in other departments of historical research have been great and valuable, also quotes Burke and Warner in support of his views on the untrustworthiness of the depositions, but he admits that Reid, an historian whose accuracy and impartiality are acknowledged by all, disputes the truth of Warner's and Burke's verdicts. Moreover, Mr. Gilbert does not give us a single specimen in full of any one of the depositions. He and Mr. Prendergast have their conscientious opinions, as Reid had his, but a large portion of the public interested in an important historical question desire a fuller inquiry and to have the depositions printed in order that readers may form their own independent and impartial

judgment upon them. I greatly wished that they might be calendared with the rest of the State Papers, and I anticipated no objection to this from any quarter. Sir Thomas Hardy, the late Deputy Keeper of the Records, felt as I did, and strongly recommended that a calendar should be made of those MSS. The Irish are so confident that the depositions are worthless that I supposed they would welcome any investigation which could only prove that they were right. On the part of the English, sad as the revelations of our ancestors' iniquities might be, there ought not to be, and I believed there would not be, any present unwillingness to look truth in the face, however unpalatable the exposure.

When I found that the depositions were not likely to be calendared with the rest of the Irish State Papers I thought at first of examining them myself and publishing my own account of them; but I suspected my judgment on the same grounds on which I suspected that of Mr. Prendergast and Mr. Gilbert. They are in sympathy with popular 'Irish ideas,' and I am equally in sympathy with the Protestant traditions of my own country. I concluded that I at least could not usefully interfere any further when I was informed by Miss Hickson that she was about to make an accurate transcript of a large number of the depositions and to print them that readers might judge them independently, and that she would add in her work some unpublished documents relating to the plantations of 1612–39. Though I could not hope, and she did not hope or indeed wish, that her verdict would be considered final, her main object being to furnish full materials for others to form an independent judgment on, it seemed to me from what I knew of her writings, her love of justice as well as her love of her native country, that her book could not fail to be valuable. She has no English prejudices, she is the descendant of some of the exiled and transplanted Irish and Anglo-Irish of 1649, she is keenly alive to the wrongs which her country has

suffered at English hands, and on some points she is in full sympathy with Irish Nationalism. I had myself smarted under her criticisms, because I had, as she conceived, written hard things of Irishmen and Irish ideas. Miss Hickson has already written works on local history, and papers on Irish matters in the 'Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland,' and in the Reliquary edited by Llewellyn Jewitt, F.S.A., which have been all commended for their ability and historical research by Mr. Lecky, the Rev. James Graves, Mr. W. M. Hennessy, M.R.I.A., and others. She is therefore, I think, well qualified by fairness of mind, information, and love of patient historical research to make a good transcript of some of those much talked-of, little known documents, and to arrive at an impartial judgment upon them. Her work is now finished, and the result of it lies in these two volumes that every one who is interested in this sad Irish question may now read. It will be seen that while she regards the histories of Temple and Borlase as exaggerated and often unjust, she believes that the vast majority of the depositions taken before the commissioners are valid and authentic accounts of real events. She has transcribed and printed a large number of the depositions themselves (adding notes at the end of each, sifting the evidence and collating it with contemporary narratives by Catholics which she has printed from the Carte MSS.), and she has pointed out with considerable humour (*v.* pp. 134, 135) the mistakes into which the impugners of their authenticity have blundered in their haste to condemn them. The impartiality of her mind is shown by her selecting for publication, not only the authentic depositions, but one or two of the very few in the immense collection which she considers can be justly called exaggerated and unauthentic (*v.* vol. i. pp. 302, 326, vol. ii. p. 88). A further proof of this is that while she firmly believes many of her countrymen in 1641 committed frightful crimes, she explains better than any previous writer the causes which drove

them into fury, and she is careful to transcribe and print *in extenso* their own memorials and narratives explaining those causes.

The cardinal objection urged against the depositions by Warner and Gilbert is, that large portions of them, in some cases several pages, have had cancelling lines drawn across them by the pen of the official who wrote them, who thus made a tacit confession that much of the evidence was worthless. If this objection can be proved valid, it is hardly necessary to say the controversy over the depositions is virtually at an end, and they may be set aside as of no authority. But Miss Hickson maintains that Gilbert and Warner's cardinal objection is based on a cardinal error on their part. Reid partly intimated as much long ago. Miss Hickson amends his intimation (*v.* pp. 128–132). She states, and the photograph she has had made by an eminent artist of one of the very depositions on which Mr. Gilbert bases his objection, unquestionably supports her statement (as does Mr. Waring's sworn evidence on Lord Muskerry's trial at p. 199 of her second volume), that those lines which Warner and Gilbert have mistaken for cancelling lines are not really cancellings at all, but lines of abbreviation drawn over superfluous words and long inventories of stolen or lost goods, which the official copyist, employed to make transcripts of all that was important in the depositions for transmission to the king, was directed to omit. Miss Hickson points out that in no case have the lines been drawn over the words '*jurat. coram nobis*' or over the '*jurat.*' alone, which, either of them, standing intact above the signatures of the commissioners, stamp the deposition as sworn, any more than over the relations of murders or the names of rebels; and that those drawn over the superfluous tautology and inventories are made designedly light so as to leave every word and cipher perfectly legible (*v.* pp. 129–130). She recommends readers who wish for further evidence than the photograph to examine for themselves the transcripts in the

Harleian MSS. and to compare them with the originals in the College.

Thus her work cannot be regarded as a mere counter-statement of opinion against the popular Irish theory. It presents the reader with a statement of facts hitherto unnoticed, powerfully supported by the photograph, and she asks him to use his own eyes and his own unbiassed judgment on them. She has published for the first time—and this is perhaps the most valuable part of her most interesting work—the proceedings of the High Court of Justice, and has thrown clear fresh light on Cromwell's administration. The document which she gives from the Council Books of the Commonwealth, in which he orders the debenture of one of his soldiers, who had killed a poor Irish carpenter named O'Byrne, to be given to the man's widow and children, is very interesting and curious (*v.* vol. ii. p. 236).

I can only repeat my hope that an authoritative Calendar of the depositions may yet be made by the Government, and that photographs of a few of the most important MSS. may form part of it. The clear ascertainment of the truth or untruth of a story which touches so deeply the honour of English action in Ireland will do more towards allaying hatreds between classes, creeds, and nations, than the most absolute reversal of the Act of Settlement of 1660-70, which arose out of and had its justification in the crimes charged on the Irish in the depositions.

J. A. F.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE PLANTATIONS—THE CHURCHES—THE GRACES—THE REBELLION—THE MASSACRES—THE DAY OF RECKONING.

In December, 1615, Arthur Lord Chichester, at the King's desire, resigned the office of Lord Deputy of Ireland, which he had held for nearly ten years, into the hands of three Lords Justices, pending the arrival of his successor Sir Oliver St. John. The last years of Chichester's rule were troubled at home and abroad. A plot had been discovered in Ulster (of which more hereafter), and the King was greatly angered at the slow progress of the plantation. Yet if the ex-Lord Deputy had enriched himself, he had on the whole served his sovereign zealously and well. That the great work of the Ulster plantation, begun soon after his arrival in Ireland, had in 1615 only progressed as far as the beginning of the end, was not his fault. The foundations of the work had been well laid. The province which had never been more than nominally conquered by the Angevin, York, Lancaster, and Tudor sovereigns, had succumbed to the peaceful policy of James. The lawyers had succeeded where the soldiers had failed. O'Neil and O'Donnell, the two great northern chieftains with their ill-fitting English coronets, perplexed and terrified by a new kind of warfare in disguise, against which they felt themselves powerless, preferred to go into exile.[1] If O'Neil, old

[1] Leland and most historians of credit disbelieve that O'Neil was guilty of a conspiracy against the Government in 1607-8. They consider he fled, lest he should be detained a prisoner in London. One of the persons who accused him of plotting treason was a Mr. Eustace, a man whose character made him a very

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as he was, had a chance given him to fight it out once more in open war as in the days of his youth he might possibly have accepted it, but when he was presented with a smooth-spoken, half-friendly, half-peremptory request to come into England and submit to the King's arbitration his differences with the Protestant Bishop of Derry in confederacy with his own former vassal O'Cahane, he most wisely, so far as his personal liberty was concerned, preferred to fly secretly to the Continent. Had he gone to England he would have remained to the last day of his life a prisoner in the Tower.

After the 'Flight of the Earls' the petty chieftains of Ulster were left to wage an unequal and desultory warfare sure to end in their destruction. O'Doherty's insurrection was speedily ended by his capture and death, the whole of his territory of Innishowen passing to Chichester. Sir Donnel O'Cahane[1] (who had sided with the English against O'Neil) upon a bare, and it would appear very unfounded, suspicion of complicity in O'Doherty's treason, was first imprisoned in Dublin, whither he had gone of his own accord to clear himself, and was then transferred to the Tower of London, where after a long imprisonment he died. Sir Neil O'Donnel, against whose treasons his own fosterers had borne witness, with his son, described by the Lord Deputy as a 'toward youth' but as 'proud spirited as his father,' and Sir Cormac MacBaron O'Neil, were also imprisoned in the Tower, while Con MacGregy O'Neil, a boy of twelve or thirteen, the son of the absent Earl, was entrusted to the safe keeping of Sir Toby Caulfield in the strong fort of Charlemont.

It would of course be quite impossible to give here more than a very brief outline of the condition of the Ulster plantation, and of the other plantations accomplished or projected between 1609 and 1641, when the rebellion broke out, with the results of which this book is mainly concerned.

untrustworthy witness. He was popularly called 'Mad Eustace,' from the general belief that he was half insane. Mr. Prendergast makes a great mistake in stating in his *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland* that Eustace was so called because he lost his wits on losing his estate in 1649. See *Answers of Sir Garrett Moore to interrogations put to him. MSS. Rolls House*, March 13, 1609.

[1] *MSS. Rolls House*, March 30, 1610.

The extent of the lands escheated in Ulster for the purpose of plantation has been variously estimated. Carte sets it down at half a million of acres. Pynnar,[1] the best authority, says that the six plantation counties contained more than two millions of acres; that of these a million and a half were unprofitable and profitable lands which were left to native proprietors; that 400,000 were forfeited, of which 100,000 went to churches, schools, and corporations, 240,000 to undertakers and colonists of British race, and 60,000 to native Irish grantees. Reid[2] accepts Pynnar's estimate, and says that the statement made by Roman Catholic and some Protestant writers that all the natives were dispossessed is 'a decided exaggeration.' Cox[3] says that 511,465 acres of the six counties were distributed among the English and Scotch planters, Trinity College, and the Established Church, the free schools, and the natives, of which Connor Maguire had 5,980 acres. It is doubtful, however, that Maguire had even this much, less than half of what had been promised him by James.[4]

At the other end of the political pole from Cox stands Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, who, in his 'Bird's-Eye View of Irish History,' republished from his 'Young Ireland,' discards all these estimates, and adopts one made by the Rev. George Hill, a Protestant clergyman in Ulster, by which it would appear that the six escheated counties contained four million of acres, all of which were granted to English and Scotch, with the exception of a 'few shreds of freeholds' in the most barren districts. But the extent of land forfeited by the Irish of Ulster in 1649-50 seems to tell against the accuracy of Mr. Hill's statement.

In a document which, from its connection with the depositions, I shall have to notice more fully hereafter, an official copy of a decree, made by the Court for the adjudication of the claims at Athlone in 1655, Henry O'Neil of Glasdromin, in Armagh, is stated to have claimed no less than 10,000 acres, which his father had been granted by

[1] Harris's *Hibernia*, vol. ii. [2] Reid, vol. i. p. 86. [3] Cox, vol. ii.
[4] Carte says he had more; but this is unlikely.

James I. at a rent of forty shillings and a hawk yearly. This grant, like Maguire's, is said by Harris to have been reduced, but it is evident that O'Neil was in possession of the whole in 1641, and he claimed it in 1655, and again in 1663, under the patent grants of James. The truth is that it is now impossible to ascertain the exact amount of land granted to the colonists and the natives, but the statement that all the latter in the six counties were dispossessed and left without land cannot be accepted by any one who has examined the history of the plantation with an unprejudiced mind, as Mr. Lecky has done,[1] who sums up the question with his usual candour and fairness, when he says that 'the assignment of a large part of Ulster to the native owners distinguished that plantation broadly and favourably from similar acts in previous times.'

The second great charge made against the plantations, north and south, that they disregarded or confiscated the proprietary rights of the 'humblest clansmen,' receives some support from Mr. Lecky. He considers that their position was in many respects superior to that of an English tenant. In the very early times Professor Eugene O'Curry describes in his interesting lectures, the 'humblest clansmen,' no doubt, had a fair position. But since, as Dr. Todd, also an Irish scholar of high repute, truly says in his notes to the ancient Irish MS., the 'Wars of the Gaill with the Gael,' the clan system made a national army a mere rope of sand against an invader, it was inevitable that the Brehon law and tribal customs must come into conflict with newer laws and forms of civilisation and must give way before them as years went by. And we have the most indisputable proofs before us that the position of the 'humblest clansman' of the Irish chief in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was miserable in the extreme. An Irish antiquary, as learned and patriotic as Dr. Todd or Professor O'Curry, the late Mr. Herbert Pole Hore, in an article on the 'Brehons and their Laws' in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* (vol. v.), admits that 'if some of the Anglo-

[1] *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 110.

Irish squires of the last century rackrented their tenants, an O'Rourke and an O'Flaherty of the sixteenth century literally flayed his alive.' An Irish saying of that day describes a great '*Tiern Mor*' as a 'cormorant over his clansmen.' The following account of O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone's rents written by Sir Toby Caulfield, a justly popular official amongst the Irish of 1614, and the founder of a house which has been always popular in Ireland, gives a good idea of the miseries of the clansmen before the plantation:—

'1. There was never any certain portion of land let by the earl to any of his tenants that paid him rent.

'2. Such rents as he received were paid to him partly in money, partly in promises of victuals, as oatmeal, butter, mutton, oats, &c.

'3. The money rents that were so reserved were chargeable on all the cows that were milch or in calf which grazed on his lands after the rate of 12*d.* a quarter of a year,[1] which cows were to be numbered but twice a year, at May and All Hallowtide by Tyrone's officers, and so the rents were levied and taken up at the said rate for all the cows that were so numbered, except only the heads and principal men of the creaghts, who, in regard of enabling them to live better than the common multitude under them, whom they caused to be willing to pay the said rents, were usually allowed a fourth part of the whole rents, which rise to 300*l.* a year, or thereabouts, which they detained in their own hands by direction from the Lord Deputy, and so was never received; and, further, butter and other victualling provisions they were only paid by such as they termed horsemen, the Quins,

[1] Dr. O'Sullivan, in his Preface to Professor Eugene O'Curry's *Lectures on the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, noting Spenser's statement that the Irish chiefs only let their land from year to year, explains that this was because the tenant, if he were a freeman, having recognised rights as a member of a family or *fine*, could not hire land from another than his own *flath* (lord) for a longer term than a year without descending in the social scale and becoming a *fuidir*, the equal of a tenant, a captive from a conquered country, prisoners at war who had quarter, convicts, &c.—*Introduction to Lectures*, p. 136. But Dr. O'Sullivan adds that in the time of Spenser such *fuidir* tenants must have been many in number, 'owing to the continual civil wars.' The Irish annals show that before ever Spenser or Maurice FitzGerald set foot in Ireland, the Irish were continually at war with one another, so that the number of *fuidirs* must have been plentiful at all times. For proof that the clansmen sometimes preferred to live as tenants under the English undertaker rather than under their own chiefs, see the case of Phelim O'Byrne hereafter given.

Hagans, Connelans, and Devlins, which were rather at the disposition of the givers, who strove who *should give most to gain Tyrone's favour*, than for any due claim he had to demand the same.

'4. All the cows for which their rents are to be levied must be counted on one day, which required much travel and labour, and many men to be put in trust on that account; so as that country which is replenished with woods do greatly advantage the tenants that ought to pay their rents, to hide away their cows from that reckoning, and also to such overseers (collectors of rents) to be corrupted by the tenants, to mitigate the sums due by lessening the true numbers of their cattle, which must needs be conceived they, the overseers, will all endeavour to the uttermost to do; they being men, as it were, without conscience, apt to be corrupt for small bribes, which they may the more readily be, in regard that the bordering lords adjoining are ready to shelter the cows that should pay those rents, whereby they may procure those tenants to live under them.

'5. The said rent is uncertain, because, by the custom of the country, the tenant may remove from one lord to another every half year, as they usually do, which custom is allowed by the State.'[1]

A stolen tenant meant an increase of rent to the stealer, hence the contest between Tyrone and the 'bordering lords' for his possession. In the third and fourth sections of this report we can recognise the Milesian predecessors and antetypes of those too familiar forms of later days in Ireland, the middleman who 'causes' the under-tenant 'to be willing' to

[1] Thus Dr. O'Sullivan tells us 'the richer class of *fuidirs* appear to have had the use of good land for which they paid a heavy rent, for it was chiefly this class of tenant that could be rackrented. The interest of the *flath* or lord was to have as much *fuidir* land as possible, in order that his wealth might be greater.' In other words, human nature being the same in all times and places, the *flaths* did not wait for the sixteenth century, or Spenser's arrival in Ireland, to rackrent, and we may be quite sure they carried on wars for the special purpose of getting *fuidirs* on their land. Compare with the above, Dr. O'Sullivan's words quoted at p. 5, *note*. Grace O'Malley (*Grainuaile*) told the Elizabethan Government that the Irish chiefs in Connaught extracted rackrents from their tenants who 'feared' to refuse to pay them. *MSS. Rolls House*. In the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* (vol. iv.) will be found a highly curious letter respecting the request made to the English Government by Tyrone to have soldiers sent to apprehend and bring back to his lands some of his tenants who had fled to the lands of his neighbours.

pay a profit rent, and the cunning land bailiff, agent, or '*driver*' as he was more appropriately called.

King James's ablest assistant in the Ulster plantation was his Attorney-General, Sir John Davies, himself a Celt by descent, but of that branch of the Celtic race which, like its cousins in Scotland and unlike its cousins of Ireland, seldom allows its imagination to overpower its judgment. In the Historical Tracts of Sir John Davies there is no trace of that selfish, land-grabbing spirit, which is sometimes but too apparent in the letters of Chichester and his successors. Sir John writes in a tolerant and kindly spirit of the Irish, does ample justice to their good qualities, shows how some of their bad ones are due to English misgovernment, but fearlessly condemns those old semi-barbarous customs which have retarded their prosperity. In religion he was strongly opposed, as the Protestant Celt almost always is, to Roman Catholicism, and he denounces with true Celtic fervour the political action of its ecclesiastics in Ireland; but he is quite as severe on the shortcomings of the Established Church. The following passages in his letters show how the keen-witted, kindly hearted, Celtic Attorney-General of James I. saw to the root of the old Irish difficulty:—

> 'In England and all well-ordered commonwealths, men have certain estates in lands and possessions, and their inheritances descend from father to son, which doth give them encouragement to build and plant, and to improve their lands, and make them better for their posterities. But by the Irish custom of Tanistry [1] the chief of every country, and chief of every

[1] 'The *tanaiste* was not necessarily the son of the chief, he might be his brother or nephew, but he should belong to his *fine* (family). The succession of property by the law of tanistry secured that there should always be an official aristocracy possessed of sufficient estate in land to maintain their dignity; while the custom of gavelkind on the other hand, by the great subdivision of property which it effected, tended to deprive the majority of freemen of all political rights, under a constitution where property was an essential element of political power. . . . The estates of *flaths*, the lowest of whom had ten *ceiles*, were subdivided, and a number of small poor proprietors were created.'—*Introduction to O'Curry's Lectures*, p. 133. This description, by an enthusiastic admirer of ancient Irish laws and customs, does not place the 'humblest clansman' in a very happy position. The official aristocracy no doubt had a good time of it, but as to the 'vested rights' of the number of small poor proprietors, they were rather less than those of the poor

sept, had no longer estate than for life in their chiefries, the inheritance whereof did vest in no man. And these chiefries, though they had one portion of land allotted to them, yet they did consist chiefly in cuttings and cosherings, and other Irish exactions, whereby they did spoil and impoverish the people at pleasure. And when their chieftains died their sons or next heirs did not succeed, but their tanists, which were elective and purchased their election by the strong hand; and by the Irish custom of gavelkind the inferior tenancies were partable among all the males of the sept, both bastard and legitimate; and after partition made if any one of the sept died, his portion was not divided amongst his sons, but the chief of the sept made a new partition of all the lands belonging to the sept, and gave every one his part according to his antiquity . . . the barbarous manners of the Irish must needs be imputed to those unreasonable customs, which made their estates so uncertain and transitory in their possession. For who would plant or improve, or build upon that land which a stranger, whom he knew not, would possess after his death? For that, as Solomon saith, would be one of the

cottiers in the 'congested districts' of the west at this day. Commenting on the above passage in Sir John Davies' *Historical Tracts*, the late Archdeacon Rowan, D.D., in his interesting Handbook to Killarney called *Lake Lore*, most truly says 'that if the art of man or devil had been tasked to invent a custom likely to be productive of fraud, violence, intrigue, and corruption and family feud, it could not have hit on a more fruitful source of those evils than tanistry.'—*Lake Lore*, p. 72. The truth is it sprang out of, and helped to perpetuate, a series of clan wars. On the death of a chief, if his son was a child, it became necessary to appoint an adult chief in his place, who could use the *lamh laidir* (strong hand) against his aggressive neighbours. Archdeacon Rowan gives the following extract from a *Discourse on the State of Munster*, written two hundred and eighty years ago, by the ancestor of the Earl of Kenmare, describing a war of succession for lands in a part of the county Cork called Duhallow:—'The county of Duhallow is a great house of the Irishry, and McDonogh is called the chief lord thereof. There is a great controversy about the chief lordship of that country, which one Donogh MacCormac doth at present enjoy, and his kinsman, Dermot MacOwen, doth sue against him. Dermot alleges that he himself is seised thereof as by a right descending to him by his father, whose father's eldest brother died seised thereof, whose father's grandfather died seised thereof. Donogh MacCormac saith that his great-grandfather was the eldest brother, and that the youngest brother from whom Dermot is descended did murder his elder, and usurped Duhallow ever since, and that his (Donogh's) own father was murdered by Dermot's father! But Dermot answers that Donogh's great-grandfather was a bastard, and that his Dermot's was a lawful son, and that as for the killing of Donogh's father, his (Dermot's) father did it in revenge for the killing of *his* father, so that it was but one for another!'—*Lake Lore*, p. 74. The fratricidal strifes between the last Desmond Earls were greatly due to the influence of tanistry after they had married amongst the Irish.

strangest vanities under the sun. And this is the true reason why Ulster and all the Irish counties are found so waste and desolate at the present day, and so they will continue to the world's end, until those evil customs, tanistry and gavelkind, be abolished by the law of England. . . . Again, the Irish custom of gavelkind did breed another mischief, for thereby every man being born to land, bastard as well as legitimate, they all held themselves to be gentlemen. And though their portions were ever so small, and themselves ever so poor, for gavelkind must in the end make a poor gentility, yet they scorned to descend to husbandry, merchandise, or any mechanical art or science. . . . And those poor gentlemen were so affected unto their small portions of land, that they rather chose to live at home by theft, extortion, or coshering, than to seek any better fortune abroad."—(*Historical Tracts and Letters by Sir John Davies.*)

Let poetry or romance or the theories of enthusiastic Irish antiquaries disguise the facts as they may, it is certain that the old Irish clan system was the paradise of the chief and the priest, the Brehon and the bard, and the purgatory of the 'humblest clansmen.' Brehons, bards, and priests (who were often Brehons), had a real vested interest in the soil, a co-proprietorship in all the good things going; the chief's power rested mainly on these classes and his own *lamh laidir*, or sword; but the right of the 'humblest clansman' to a co-proprietorship with them was in nine cases out of ten a mockery, a delusion, and a snare. A co-proprietorship with his fellows in barbarous poverty and semi-slavery was generally all that was left to him. That he did not sooner recognise the fact was because of that unfortunate tendency in the Irish Gael to cling, like the Galatians of old, to ancient customs and ordinances, no matter how worthless they had become, as well as to his credulity and willingness to follow any leader who flattered his vanity. The chiefs, Brehons, and bards naturally clung to their old paradise, and led the ignorant credulous masses by the ears after them. The Irish lament of Con O'Neil's bard, which has been turned into spirited and graceful English verse by Sir Samuel Ferguson, is eloquent on the sorrows of Ireland under the approaching plantation, but it is with the sorrows of the chiefs and his

duine uassails, the brave, coshering, fighting, hunting Irish 'gentlemen,' he is concerned. There is truth as well as pathos in the old Gaelic lament, but the lament is for the destruction of a class the least useful to the common weal; and if the world was not to stand still or retrograde, such a destruction was inevitable. The hunting grounds of the chief and his *duine uassails* north, south, east and west, must be broken up by the plough of the 'Sassenagh churl'[1] and the Celtic clansman, and the haggards of both must be protected alike from Sassenagh landlord and Celtic chief.

This was undoubtedly the good work *intended* by James I., but unfortunately, that king, like his grandson, was much given to intending and saying wise things and doing very unwise ones. Thus his first intention was to make no very large grant of land to any one undertaker, lest he might people it with tenants-at-will or manage it by deputies of deputies. But afterwards he made immense grants of whole territories to Chichester and Lord Castlehaven, and, as Reid observes, those territories remain to this day the least prosperous districts of Ulster. Still James did succeed, to some extent, in abolishing tenancies-at-will, and making the 'humblest clansmen' freemen, instead of abject dependents on their lords. Mr. Prendergast and the late Rev. Dr. Russell, noticing this fact in the preface to the second volume of their 'Calendar of the Irish State Papers,' say: 'Sir John Davies takes credit for the King's desire to settle and secure under-tenants, but the political design of the measure was no less plain and unmistakeable.'

Thus, whatever the English rulers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did in Ireland, they fail to please the

[1] 'For the plain must be broke
By the share of the stranger,
And the stonemason's stroke,
Tells the woods of their danger,
The green hills and shore
Be with white keeps disfigured,
And the Mote of Rathmore
Be the Saxon churl's haggard!'

Lays of the Western Gael, p. 181.

ruling school of critics in the nineteenth century, and are accused of evil intentions towards the country. When the English ruler gives, as did Elizabeth, a patent grant of all the clan territory to the Irish chief (though in point of fact, he had often 'grabbed' to himself a half or third part of it, spite of the Brehons, long before the English law interfered with him or them), she is accused of having disregarded the rights of the 'humble clansmen;' when another English ruler compels the Irish chief to make freeholds and grant leases at a moderate rent (using no exactions), he is accused of disregarding the rights of the chief. As to the charge of 'political designs,' surely it is out of place in the mouth of any Irishman of the mixed race, and no other Irishman exists (Celts and Saxons being as extinct in Ireland as the ancient elk) at the present day. The English had conquered the old Irish clans, they wished to bind the two islands together in that union suited to their natural position, they wished to plant Ireland extensively—too extensively we must admit—and not in the wisest way, with English and Scotch colonists. I cannot see any real evidence to prove that they ever entertained the absurd and impracticable project of 'exterminating' the Irish people. The notion that they ever did entertain it, belongs to that romance of history which, in the case of Ireland, so often passes for truth, not only with ignorant enthusiasts, but with educated men and women. Elizabeth over and over again disclaimed any intention of 'exterminating' the Irish; James, whatever were his vices and weaknesses, had a strong liking for the Irish Gael, and loved to trace his descent from their kings. Cromwell and his officers, as we shall see, protected the native Irish who were disposed to live in peace and goodwill with their Protestant neighbours, and took part with them against the English, Scotch, or Irish Protestants, soldiers or civilians, who acted unjustly towards them. I am aware that this latter statement will be received with a derisive outburst by a certain school of commentators on the Cromwellian settlement of Ireland; but that 'itching to deride' the poet writes of, is a poor argument against historical truths, which every intelligent

reader can study for himself in the documents hereafter printed for the first time.

Already in 1609–10, the hill sides and plains of Ulster began to be dotted here and there with those white-walled keeps and cottages which were such an eyesore to Con O'Neil's bard, and which Con himself had on his death-bed cursed, warning his clansmen that for them to allow such buildings to be erected in their territory was as though the 'crow should build a nest for the hawk.' A few of the better-disposed chiefs were wisely submitting to the new *régime*, and many of the humblest clansmen were doing the same. But for the *duine uassails*, or small-acred gentlemen of the sword, who hoped by the sword to become large-acred at the expense of their neighbours—for these products of tanistry and gavelkind there was clearly no place left unless they changed their ways, which they would not or could not do. They swarmed on the skirts of the planted districts, and with their kerns and fosterers did their best to carry out Con Mor's traditional behests, and to make the planter's life a burden to himself and the State. The best that can be said for the poor kerns—'wood-kerns' as they were called, from their Robin Hood life in the woods of Truagh and Tyrone—is 'like master, like man,' and for their masters that they were the bravest of soldiers, the best of horsemen and huntsmen, hospitable and openhanded to a fault. What was to be done with them was the burning question of the hour. Chichester answered it in the only way that was left open to him. He superintended in person the shipment of hundreds of *duine uassails* and wood-kerns for the military service of Sweden and Poland, and he bribed those of the latter who would not leave the country, to hunt down one another, a temptation to which they readily yielded.

The first difficulty that presented itself in connection with the shipment of the levies for foreign service, was the choice of leaders for those hot-spirited gentlemen. Chichester tried to solve it by selecting for each company taken from a clan one who would be captain; an O'Doherty to lead the 'thirty tall fellows' of that name 'whom he brought down,' he says in his letter to the King, 'from the mountains of Innishowen'

to the port of Carlingford, an O'Hanlon for the O'Hanlons, an O'Cahane for the O'Cahanes, a MacKenna for the MacKennas of the 'Green Woods of Truagh' (celebrated in an exquisite Irish air), and so on. But he forgot the metal he had to work on. Amongst those shreds of clans where could the rightful O'Hanlon, O'Doherty, or MacKenna be found (O'Cahane was in the Tower, and his brother had submitted to live peacefully on the plantation) whom the rest would consent to obey and acknowledge as leader or chief? The result may give Englishmen a new and strange glimpse of the old Irish characteristics. 'I find,' writes Chichester to the English Privy Council, on October 8th, 1609, 'that these idle young gentlemen of Ulster are all equals, and so jealous and emulous of one another, that they had rather be commanded by an Englishman than by one of their own kinsmen, so I must humour them as best I can.'[1] The King was very averse to allowing any man of English descent to leave Ulster, but he had to give way on this point, for without the English-descended leaders the Irish would not stir. Ultimately they accepted for captains some of the old 'servitors,' *i.e.* officers who had commanded Irish soldiers in the army of Queen Elizabeth—Throckmortons, Butlers, Sanfords, Tyrrels, Plunkets, &c. To these 'servitors' the Irish had become greatly attached.

But when this difficulty had been got over, others still more serious arose. Eight hundred exiles under their chosen captains left Carlingford in one day for Sweden, but the rest proved recalcitrant at the eleventh hour. Sir John Davies, naturally appreciative of Celtic humours and tempers, wrote to Salisbury on October 19th, 1609, that the shipments were stayed, 'because the priests had given out a report amongst the people,' that the Government 'never intended to send the exiles to Sweden at all, but to take them out of sight of shore and to throw them overboard, drowning every mother's son of them!'[2] The Jesuits, on the other hand, disdaining this clumsy lie, according to Sir John, laboured to

[1] *Chichester to Privy Council, October 8th*, 1609. *MSS. Rolls House.*
[2] *Sir J. Davies to Salisbury, October 19th*, 1609. *MSS. Rolls House.*

dissuade the exiles from embarking by assuring them, that it was a mortal sin for Roman Catholics to assist a heretic prince like him of Sweden, who was fighting against an orthodox power. Those imaginary perils to their souls and bodies made many of the unfortunate recruits fly back again to the woods from the shores of Lough Foyle. A select number of bolder spirits who did sail from thence were only a day or two at sea, when they changed their minds, mutinied, rose in a body upon their chosen captain, the master and the crew, overpowered them, broke the compass, took possession of the ship, and, at the risk of their lives, steered her straight for a ledge of rocks near the coast, hoping by hook or crook to regain it; but contrary winds, and the usquebaugh in which they had freely indulged, detained them until the troops from a neighbouring garrison came out and made them prisoners. The same kind of mutiny took place in other ships, which were run ashore by the mutineers in Scotland and the north of England, from whence most of them managed to find their way back to Ireland, leaving the unfortunate 'servitors' to write piteous letters from Newcastle, and other ports, detailing to the Government their sufferings and losses, and (of course) claiming 'compensation.'

To the modern Liberal of that 'jelly-fish' type described in a well-known speech of the Duke of Argyle's, those transportation schemes of 1609–20 seem monstrous cruelties, and those who directed them the worst of tyrants. A wiser school of Liberals may say, and not without some show of reason, that it would have been better to have left this race of *duine uassails* and their followers alone, to work out, like their cousins of the Scottish Highlands, slowly and painfully, their own way to a better form of civilisation. A higher power, however, of which James and his officials were the weak and unworthy instruments, had otherwise ordained it. The wild creaghting life of Ulster was to be changed into a life of prosperous agricultural and commercial industry, the results of which we see in the Ulster of to-day (or at least in that portion of Ulster from which the *duine uassails* were eliminated), the garden of Ireland, filled with the sturdy, industrious,

freedom-loving men of the mixed race; jealous of their rights as tenants and as traders, but respecting also the rights of others, peaceable and loyal in the highest sense of the word, which is law-abiding, yet not without a due share of personal loyalty too, that

'loyal passion for our temperate kings'

of those later days, a far safer thing for kings and people than the old fulsome loyalty that waited on the Stuarts. But before the first foundation of this modern Ulster could be completed, those poor, hot-spirited, generous gentry of the sword must depart. Numbers of them did actually go to Sweden, Poland, Germany, Spain and the Low Countries, of whom not a few rose to high distinction in that military service for which alone they were fitted; but many others, as we have seen, returned to Ulster, and their return was in most cases a very great disservice to their country.

A few extracts from the immense mass of depositions taken in connection with the plot already mentioned as troubling the last years of Chichester's Deputyship, will fully show this, and illustrate the state of the plantation between 1614–25. In the former year Con MacGregy O'Neil (the young son of the fugitive Earl of Tyrone) was still living under the charge of Sir Toby Caulfield, in the fort of Charlemont. The knight and his family seem to have grown fond of their charge, then about fourteen years of age, and this was probably the reason that he had not been transferred, as boys of his rank usually were, to an English college for his education. However this may have been, there he was in Charlemont fort in 1614, and around him, a small and all unconscious 'head centre,' the returned exiles, *duine uassails* and idle gentlemen of the sword, began to weave their webs, or rather cobwebs, of conspiracy. For more reasons than one I will here give Mr. Prendergast's account of their designs, as it appears in his preface to the fifth volume of his Calendar of the Irish State Papers:—

'The conspirators expected to obtain the person of Con MacGregy, through the aid of one Ned Drumane (probably Drum-

mond), a person confided in by Sir Toby Caulfield, whilst the deliverance of the three Ulster knights in the Tower, Sir Donell O'Cahane, Sir Neil O'Donnell, and Sir Cormac MacBaron O'Neill, was to be obtained by sparing the lives of Mr. Beresford, Mr. Rowley, and Sir Richard Hansard, from the general massacre, in order to exchange them for the imprisoned knights in the Tower.'—(*Calendar Jas. I.*, 1614–1625, *preface.*)

Mr. Prendergast is one of many Irish writers on 1641 who have denied the possibility of a massacre of the English colonists in that year, on the ground that the Irish were too kindly natured to commit such an act. But in the above passage Mr. Prendergast, writing in a more judicial and impartial tone than in his 'History of the Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland,' admits the fact, which his own valuable researches have helped to bring to light, viz. that a 'general massacre' of all the English in Ulster, except three, was actually planned by the Irish in 1614.

No less than thirty-eight conspirators were found to be involved in this plot, the chief of whom were Alexander MacDonnell, nephew of Sir Randal MacDonnell of Dunluce, Lother MacDonnell, the illegitimate brother of Sir Randal, Coll MacGillaspuic MacDonnell, of the Hebrides, Rory Oge O'Cahan, son of Sir Donnell, Brian Crossagh O'Neil, illegitimate son of Sir Corman MacBaron, MacBrien O'Neil, another illegitimate scion of the house, Laughlin O'Laverty, a priest, Edmund O'Mullarky, a Franciscan friar, two brothers of Sir Neil O'Donnell, and three sons of MacPhelimy O'Neil, who had been killed in the service of Queen Elizabeth. In reward for these services his three sons had been supported and educated for fifteen years at the expense of the Government, and were constant attendants at the Protestant Church service. If we except Rory Oge O'Cahan, whose father, as I have said, had been hardly treated, not one of these petty gentlemen had much to complain of. Even Rory Oge had been left in possession of a good freehold estate of 830 acres. Alexander MacDonnell's acknowledged motive for attempting to murder and plunder a whole country side, was that his uncle, Sir Randal, had not given him a large portion of his

estate, instead of a small one to the exclusion of the knight's own sons. Sir Randal, following the wise example of the Thomond O'Brians, had loyally submitted to the Government, and was created Viscount of Dunluce in 1618, for having (as the patent warrant for passing the patent, dated May 28th in that year, says), 'like a valiant and worthy gentleman performed many and faithful services to the Crown, and wisely and worthily behaved himself in helping to settle a general peace in Ireland, and in reducing to civility the barbarous people of those parts where he doth reside.'[1] Had the nephew been as wise as the uncle, no doubt he, too, would in time have been promoted to a high place in his native country, but, as one of the conspirators confessed in his deposition, made on April 21st, 1615, 'Alexander McDonnell sent word to his uncle' by Hugh MacNeil and John Oge Stewart, that if he, Sir Randal, refused to give him a larger proportion of land, he would sell what he had to Mr. Rowley, or Mr. Beresford (agents for the English planters), and go and seek his fortune otherwise;' that is, seek it by an alliance with Brian Crossagh, and the half-savage, piratical clans of the Hebrides. In the end more than half of the conspirators made depositions before the authorities, 'informing' against one another, endeavouring to throw the whole blame on one another, notwithstanding their solemn promises as 'gentlemen' to be true to their bond of union, written in the presence of the friar Mullarky, after they had drunk plentifully of some *aqua vitæ*, 'extraordinary good *aqua vitæ*' says one of the deponents (whose memory lingers lovingly over the draught as though relishing it again), which the holy man had brought with him to Brian Crossagh's house. Each one of those depositions, especially that in which the passage about the friar's *aqua vitæ* occurs, and which will be found at length in the appendix,[2] is a graphic half-comic, half-tragic revelation of that restless, vain-glorious, and wildly sanguine temperament, which has shown itself from age to age in a certain class of Irishmen, who, sometimes with a just cause for discontent, often without it, have engaged in equally insane

[1] Lodge, vol. i. p. 205.

[2] See *Appendix A.*

plots, wildly planned, miserably organised, falling to pieces of themselves through the follies, treacheries, and intemperate habits of the plotters.

The romance of history, before alluded to, seeks to persuade us that those idle gentlemen of the sword, who wished to make the poor boy in Charlemont the instrument of their ambitions, only desired an equal partition of the land and freedom for their 'humble clansmen.' The reality is that nothing was further from their thoughts than the improvement of their own condition by any kind of useful work on their freeholds, or a partition of freeholds amongst their followers. What they had at heart was the revival of a weak imitation of the fighting, drinking, coshering, tyrannical *régime* of *Shane Diomais*, and this the following deponent, Dermot O'Mollane, like Sir Randal MacDonnell, was determined, as far as in him lay, to prevent. Knight and yeoman alike were beginning to see that the new *régime* of the plantation, whatever were its defects, had its positive advantages too, that under it the cottage as well as the castle were their owners' homes, free from the unreasonable demands and coshering encroachments of every idle, unbidden guest.

The Examination of Donnel O'Mollane, taken before Sir Thomas Philips, April 20th, 1615.[1]

'The last day of January last being a holiday, this deponent having brought his wife home that day, according to the custom of the country, Rory Oge O'Cahane came to the house of this deponent's father, with six men in his company on foot, he being mounted on a horse with a sword by his side; and one of his six men in his company carried a fowling-piece, whose name is Rory O'Doherty, one of the O'Dohertys of Innishowen, and he had also a powder-bag and a bag of bullets. The other five men were: Turlogh O'Mollane MacJames, Patrick O'Mollane MacManus, Shane O'Mollane, MacConogher MacShane, and two rhymers of the sept of the Creeries, whose Christian names he knoweth not. They being come into this deponent's father's house, Rory O'Doherty, standing in the house with his fowling-piece, hindered the people, who could not conveniently pass by them.

[1] *MSS. Rolls House.*

Upon which this deponent wished him either to go forth of the house, or else to put his fowling-piece from him; which he said he would not do, nor yet depart the house until his master, meaning Rory O'Cahane, went forth; to which this deponent replied, that he and his master had his (this deponent's) good leave to depart. Then the said Rory O'Cahane said he would not go forth until he had drunk his fill, whether this deponent would or no, if drink were to be found in the house, and he said that this deponent made more of the worst horse-boy that came with Sir Thomas Phillips' soldiers than he did of him; to which this deponent replied that the people belonging to Sir Thomas came only when they were sent for or invited, and that he (Rory Oge O'Cahane) came before he was sent for or invited, and that therefore he had this deponent's leave to go when he pleased. Whereupon the said Rory Oge O'Cahane said that one day before long he might be able to do this deponent as much goodwill in Limavaddy as Sir Thomas, and that he would find a way to be even with him, this deponent, for that night, and many other things, he said he would remember. Whereupon this deponent, distrusting that some mischief might be done, desired those men that belonged to Sir Thomas Phillips to help him to put the said Rory Oge and his people forth out of the house, which they performed, and being put forth, the door was shut after them. Whereupon Rory Oge O'Cahane drew his sword and ran at the door, thinking to come in again. Then this deponent gave his father's sword and his own rapier to Sir Thomas's men for their defence, and so kept him out of the house all that night.'

Here we have the new and the old in full conflict, the young chief carrying on the old coshering, which grew such an intolerable burden on the tenant that, after the Restoration, Acts of Parliament had to be passed against it. In 1615 the 'humble clansman' had no other resource than his sword in the hands of the English soldier. That the clansman was perfectly willing to resign his sword for that purpose is good proof, taken with other evidence given hereafter, that Dr. O'Sullivan is mistaken when he says, in his introduction to Professor O'Curry's lectures, that the Irish always preferred to be the tenants of the chiefs, rather than to live under the English 'servitors.' Six weeks after O'Mollane had made this deposition, Gorrie MacManus O'Cahane made the following

confession of the conspiracy, before Chichester, Henry Sarsfield, William Methwold, and David Mulhallon :—

> 'About May last was a twelvemonth, Rory O'Cahane, Alexander MacDonnel Sorley and Lodder MacDonnel, Rice MacDonnel, James Oge MacHenry, Gory MacHenry, James MacBrian O'Mullane, Art James O'Mullane, and the deponent, were all at one Gill's house, and after they had drunk beer they all went out to the top of the hill, where Rory O'Cahane, Alexander and Lodder MacDonnel, James Oge MacHenry, James MacBrian and this examinee closed together, and then Alexander and Rory brake out in this manner, and declared unto the rest their discontent, and how their lands were disposed of to others, and themselves left to trust to small portions and to mend their estate. They then determined to surprise Derry, Coleraine, Lifford, Culmore, and Limavaddy, and said they would burn and spoil the towns and kill the inhabitants, and Rory O'Cahane said they would take off Sir Thomas Phillips's head, and that they would gather all the men they could together and would go into rebellion, and would kill and spoil all such as would not assist them and take their part. And this being done, they called all the forenamed company that were in Gill's house, and acquainted them with the plot, who all consented thereto willingly ; and took every one an oath of secresy in the same place before Rory O'Cahane, who took a book out of his pocket for that purpose. The plot was to be put in execution about August next, and in the meantime they intended to furnish and prepare men and arms. They then plotted that when they went to burn and surprise Coleraine, they would send for Coll MacGillenaspic into Scotland, who was sure to assist Alexander and his kinsmen in that action. . . . He says that the prisoners and himself did all agree to deny this plot, and to be all upon one tale, being in the jail of Derry before he was sent hither, and that Rory Oge Cahane was determined this summer to go about Ulster to beg helps of the gentlemen, and to take what help they could give him.'

Coll MacGillaspic, mentioned in this confession, was the son of Gillaspic MacDonnell who helped to murder *Shane Diomais* in 1567, and who afterwards made his home in Colonsay. The genealogy of this branch of the MacDonnells has been much confused, but according to the Rev. George

Hill,[1] before mentioned, writing in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ix. p. 308, this Coll MacGillaspic was *Coll ciotach* (or, as it has been corrupted, Colkitto), *i.e.* Coll the lefthanded, who was hung by one of the Earl of Argyle's officers, and his son, Alaster MacDonnell, was the leader of the Scotch allies of the Irish rebels, who was killed at the battle of Knockanos in 1647, while another of his sons, James MacDonnell, was also in arms with the Irish in 1641–2. He was the leader in the cruel and treacherous massacre of a number of the English and Scotch Protestant soldiers (his comrades) in the regiment of his cousin, Colonel Archibald Stewart, at Portnaw, on January 2nd, 1642 (N. S.), a massacre which has been wrongly described as one committed on a number of farmers and their families, while quietly sleeping in their beds. The full particulars of this massacre and the retaliatory one, in which a number of poor, inoffensive cottiers in Island Magee were indeed the victims, together with James MacDonnell's curious and most characteristic letter to his 'Coozen Archibald' Stewart, the Colonel of the murdered soldiers, are now for the first time printed.

Admirers of gavelkind and the 'nationalisation' of Irish land, will do well to note that the complaint of those Irish conspirators was not that they were left without land, but that they were left to trust to 'small portions' of it. Rory O'Cahane as we have seen had received a grant of more than 800 acres, and is said to have been educated at the king's expense in Trinity College, Dublin. An estate that required no mending or improving by the exercise of their brains or hands in a peaceful fashion, although it might be enlarged by their swords at the expense of their neighbours, was what they

[1] Mr. Hill says: 'Coll *ciotach* MacDonnell left four sons, Gillaspuic, Angus, Alexander or Alaster, and James. The two last-named came to Antrim on the dispersion of the family from Colonsay, and were noted as leaders of the Irish in 1641. The most distinguished of the brothers was Alaster, who has been almost invariably called *Coll ciotach*. Even Reid speaks of him as Alaster the noted Collkittagh. The same oversight occurs in Dr. O'Donovan's account of the MacDonnells.' Mr. Hill says that Alaster MacDonnell was rather a hindrance than a help to Montrose, as he turned aside to make plundering raids on his private enemies among the Campbells.

hankered after; each *duine uassail*, or little gentleman, lord of a lubberland of his own, wherein flowed never-failing streams of 'extraordinary good *aqua vitæ*,' and all the humble clansmen's pigs ran about, with knives stuck in them, ready to be coshered or cut up for his supreme benefit. When the whole project for bringing about this old Irish Elysium tumbled to the ground like a house of cards, some of its projectors were hanged, some imprisoned, some pardoned, and young Con MacGregy O'Neil was sent safe out of harm's way to Dublin, from whence, by order of the King, he was soon transferred to Eton.

Before the Irish State papers of 1614–25 had been calendared by Dr. Russell and Mr. Prendergast, it was possible for intelligent students of Irish history to accept the erroneous statements of certain Irish writers respecting this conspiracy, to the effect that it had no real existence, but that 'a criminal gamester, named O'Lennan, was bribed by Chichester to invent it.' Cathal O'Hara, Esq., a gentleman of good position, deposed that he knew that O'Lennan was the confidential attendant of Alexander MacDonnell. But whatever may have been the character of O'Lennan, he was not the first who revealed the conspiracy. His depositions may be read at length in the Calendar, but they are so immaterial compared with those made by thirty-three other witnesses, and with the full confession of the chief conspirator, Brian Crossagh O'Neil, himself, that I have not thought it worth while to give any extracts from them.

On the eve of Chichester's resignation, the King wrote to him expressing extreme displeasure at the general mismanagement of the Ulster plantation, 'revealed to him,' he says, by his close examination of 'Sir Josiah Bodley's accurate and orderly survey of the work.' Few of the undertakers had fulfilled the conditions of their grants, the chief of which were to make freeholds, and grant leases for at least twenty-one years, to require only a fixed moderate rent, and to use no 'Irish exactions.' He gives the planters notice that if matters are not mended within a twelvemonth he will resume all the land; and he adds: 'My lord, I expect that in this

service you will spare no man, English or Scottish, for no private man's interest is able to counterbalance the perpetual safety of a kingdom.'[1]

After Chichester's resignation things grew worse. Irish tenants were willing to pay much higher rents than English leaseholders, and Irish labourers were willing to work in a lazy way for half wages. Commission after commission was issued to inquire into the breaches of the conditions of the grants, and all told the same tale of towns half built, lands waste, rackrents, no leases, tenancies-at-will, and general mismanagement. The English tenants had almost all fled rather than pay rackrents; the Irish tenants were everywhere, not only on the grants allotted to their own chiefs, and on the lands of the Protestant bishops where it was lawful for them to remain, but on the grants of the undertakers, most of them living in the old barbarous, nomad way, others plundering their wealthier neighbours. The 'gentlemen of the sword' were nearly as numerous as ever; some of the English undertakers, amongst others the Earl of Castlehaven,[2] who, like Chichester, had obtained a grant far larger than the original plantation scheme allowed, had leased to twenty of them a large tract of land, and they had in turn about three thousand Irish tenants-at-will under them, whom they ruled and fleeced in the old fashion.

In the last years of James's life he had serious thoughts of resuming possession of the six escheated counties for the breaches of the articles of plantation; but a long petition from

[1] *MSS. Rolls House*, 1614.

[2] Pynnar, in his *Survey of* 1618–19, says of Lord Castlehaven's grant: 'I find planted on this land some few English families, but they have no estates (leases), for since the old Earl died, the tenants, as they tell me, cannot have their leases made good unto them unless they will give treble the rent which they paid before, and yet they must have but half the land which they enjoyed in the late Earl's time.' There were only eleven English tenants, 'all the rest of the tenants are Irish.' The whole grant seems to have comprised 12,000 acres.—Harris's *Hibernia*. By an inquisition taken at Dungannon in May 1631, Sir Piers Crosbie, who had married Lord Castlehaven's widow, was found to be possessed of 3,000 acres in the barony of Omagh, county of Tyrone, all of which he had demised to the O'Donnellys, O'Meaghers, and MacCans.—*History of Two Ulster Manors*, by Lord Belmore.

Lord Balfour, Sir Archibald Acheson, and Sir Francis Annesley, detailing the no doubt very real difficulties in the way of the undertakers, and entreating him to have patience, stayed his hand. In 1624, however, the London Companies' rents were doubled as a penalty for their shortcomings. The Companies had been the greatest defaulters of all on the lands, although Sir Richard Cox absurdly says that 'the incomparable city of London was the very life and soul of the plantation.'[1] It is true that the high rents and fines imposed upon them by James and Charles compelled the Companies to rackrent, and in later times they did much to atone for their first faults. But from first to last the Scotch, not the Londoners, were the life and soul of the Ulster plantation.

With the northern province in this unsatisfactory state, James might well have hesitated to begin further plantations, but this was so far from being the case that, before Chichester resigned, projects were on foot for extending them over two-thirds of the island. Leland says that, 'in his passion for plantations, the King was actuated by the fairest and most captivating motives,' although the historian allows that the passion was unwisely indulged. It may be admitted that James's motives in planting Ulster were excellent, and that, as Mr. Lecky shows, the rights of the natives were not wholly disregarded in that plantation scheme. But no impartial student of the State papers, which have been arranged and calendared since Leland wrote, can doubt that the King's motives in planting Ely O'Carroll, Wexford, Longford, and other small territories, were largely alloyed with unscrupulous covetousness of the basest kind. His vicious favourites, who

[1] Contrast with Cox's eulogy the following report from Falkland:—

'The country is in a miserable state through the Londoners' fault. Their castles and forts are so neglected as to be at the mercy of the enemy, who may surprise them at pleasure; they have also wasted and spoiled his Majesty's woods . . they have neglected to plant with British as they were bound to do . . . The Londoners strive so suddenly to raise their rents highly, that their tenants are grown very poor, and many have left their lands, being in worse case now than when they came there.' (*Falkland to the English Council, August* 1623. *MSS. Rolls House.*)

had at all times in all matters the power of defeating the best intentions he might form, some of his courtiers from whom better things might have been expected, and their greedy hangers-on, Irish and English, were bent on tempting him to further plantations, not for the benefit of either island, but to gratify their purely selfish designs by the spoliation of the Irish and Anglo-Irish. The southern and western districts of Wexford, as the name shows, had in early times received not a few Scandinavian settlers. British colonists also came thither, and the county was afterwards well planted by the followers of Robert FitzStephen and Maurice FitzGerald. The descendants of those early colonists married and intermarried with the Irish, and grew more Irish than the Irish themselves in their love of the island, while at the same time they retained many of the best characteristics of their English and Scandinavian ancestors. The petition of the inhabitants of Wexford against the plantation will be found at length in the appendix, as well as the counter-statement of the royal commissioners, sent over to inquire into Irish grievances, so that it is only necessary to give a brief summary of both here.

The petitioners state that their ancestors had enjoyed their lands for many generations by the English law of descent, and not by tanistry, as they themselves now enjoy them, and intend to transmit them to their descendants; that, in accordance with the invitation given them under the King's gracious Commission for the Remedying of Defective Titles, they had, on February 8th, 1609, surrendered their lands to his Majesty, feeling sure that they would be regranted under the new patents promised to those who made such surrenders, which patents would secure them so long as they continued loyal subjects against all claims of the Crown or others on their inheritances, but that, contrary to all faith and justice, the lands were not regranted to them; that William Parsons, Esq., Sir Lawrence Esmond, Sir Edward Fisher, and others, had managed to obtain possession of the whole of the said lands as undertakers, 'under colour of an ancient pretended title found for the Crown;' that they, the

said undertakers, empannelled a jury at Wexford to find this title by inquisition, but that the jury refused to find it, believing it to be obsolete, and declared that the ownership was vested in the petitioners ; that on this, Parsons, Esmond, and Fisher had the jurors summoned to Dublin, punished, and imprisoned for adhering to their just verdict ; that the petitioners were then about to prove their title by an appeal to the Common Law, but that, before they could do so, Fisher entered upon their lands, and ' by force of arms ' evicted them and their families and friends, to the number of many thousands.

The report of the English Commissioners, on the other hand, states that the Wexford petitioners did surrender their lands in 1609, but that, ' the time by proclamation limited for the natives to proceed with such surrenders being past,' it was decided that no return should be made thereof, and also that the King's learned counsel had discovered that his Majesty had an ancient title to the lands, as follows ; in the reign of Richard II., after that king had received the homage of the MacMurroghs, FitzGeralds, and other ancient owners, he granted to Sir John Beaumont the said lands, comprising 68,000 acres, between the rivers Slaney and Arklow, to be held by knight's service *in capite* ; the granddaughter and heiress by survival of Beaumont carried this territory into the Lovel family, and when Francis Lord Lovel was attainted of treason, *temp.* Henry VII., it was vested in the Crown and still belonged to it, notwithstanding the ' intrusion ' of the old proprietors. The report admits that five jurors out of sixteen refused to find this old title valid against the petitioners, that therefore the five jurors were censured in the Star Chamber and two others appointed in their place, who with the remaining eleven unanimously found the title for the Crown. On July 27th, 1611, Esmond, Fisher, and Parsons, with Nicholas Kenny the escheator, were sent by the Lord Deputy to assure the petitioners that, although the King's title to the land must not be disputed, he meant to regrant good portions of it at reasonable rents to such of them as were fit to be made large freeholders, and smaller portions for terms of lives or years to others. The report goes on to

say that on this the principal men of the district submitted, and that Chichester divided 35,210 acres amongst them.[1] Twenty-one of them were to have their ancient inheritances, and the rest had new portions, with which, however, we are told they were much dissatisfied. Sixteen more were accepted as tenants by Esmond, Fisher, and Sir Richard Cook, three hundred and ninety of the old owners of small freeholds had no land left them, nor had they any compensation for their losses; and fourteen thousand five hundred men, women, and children remained on the land subject to removal at the will of the undertakers, old and new, but the report adds, 'few of those 14,500 have been removed, and the undertakers are willing to receive all as tenants, at such easy rents as their own rents to the Crown will admit of.'

In the end, all that the petitioners were able to obtain by their petitions and earnest remonstrances was a new measurement of the escheated lands, which proved that half of it had been granted away as though it had only been a quarter, 'by which discovery,' writes Sir Henry Docwra, on March 3d, 1618, 'a fourth part is cast back again to the natives, and by that means about fourscore more of them were made freeholders than formerly, for which unexpected good befallen them they are heartily thankful to the King. His Majesty's rent is raised upon the whole, about 300*l.*, and the charge of the work is defrayed by the country.'[2] Notwithstanding the pleasing vision disclosed by Sir Henry's letter, the thousands left out in the cold on the Wexford plantation continued loud in their anger and disappointment. Two hundred of them went over to England to implore redress, and the undertakers and new patentees in both islands had an uneasy time of it amongst the Kavanaghs, Dorans, Kinshelas, MacGeralds, and MacRedmonds. It was, ere long, found necessary to send troops to keep the peace and protect the planters' lives in and

[1] Carte's account of the Wexford plantation is most disingenuous. He writes as though only 16,000 acres had at the first been set apart for the undertakers. V. *Life of Ormond*, vol. i. p. 44, and compare with the Commissioners' Report in Appendix.

[2] *MSS. Rolls House.*

around Enniscorthy. Sir Francis Blundell, who had received a thousand acres in that neighbourhood, wrote, from his London residence, to the English Council, on July 20th, 1620:—

> 'One MacEdmund, or MacRedmund, of Temple Shannon, in the county of Wexford, came to me to my house on Sunday morning last, and asked me to give him some money to drink. I told him I would. He answered he would drink it, and then he would go to Ireland and there he would first burn his own house, and after would help to burn mine. There are many people from that country now called hither by one Patrick Doran, as I have been told, to complain to his Majesty and your lordships against the plantations of Wexford. I humbly desire that they may be dismissed home, and Doran punished and sent away. This poor man MacEdmund is my tenant, much given to drink, and idle-tongued, and I think he was not well when he spoke those words to me.'

Patrick Doran was one of the small freeholders, who had received neither land nor compensation for his losses. He petitioned to be restored to his own escheated freehold, but his petition was refused and he was sent to prison. Several of the dispossessed were transported to Virginia, the rest settled down as tenants-at-will or labourers on the lands of the undertakers.

Wexford having been thus 'settled,' as the phrase went, the next plantation undertaken was that of Longford. The O'Farrells, who were the native owners, having submitted to Elizabeth and even fought in her armies, had obtained from her patent grants of their lands. Of late years they had shown a marked inclination to adopt peaceful and civilised habits, building houses, and tilling the ground like their neighbours of the Pale. Recognising those symptoms of improvement, James, writing to Chichester in 1611, directed that Elizabeth's patent grants to certain of the sept should not be interfered with, but that, when small parcels of the territory were claimed by many under colour of gavelkind, the grant should be to the worthiest native in every cartron, who should then be required to grant estates to others for lives or a term of not less than twenty-one years. At the same time the royal letter

orders the Commissioners for the plantation to remember that a multitude of small freeholders beggars a country, and that therefore no freeholder on the plantation was to have less than a cartron of land.[1] If the natives loyally submitted to the new arrangements they were to be secured against all claims of the Crown (except those to Church and abbey lands); their rent to the Crown was, however, to be increased from 150*l.* to 200*l.* yearly, and the expenses of the survey were to be borne by them.

On August 12th, 1615, an inquisition was taken before Sir John Blennerhassett, Sir Patrick Barnewall, and William Parsons, Esq., and the jurors found that the territory of Annaly, otherwise Longford, containing 999 cartrons, had been granted by Henry II. to Hugh De Lacy, who had built castles and planted English there; that in the reign of Edward I. those English colonists had been dispossessed by the rebellious Irish, that Faghney O'Farrell had submitted and surrendered the country to Queen Elizabeth, who had made him a patent grant of the same, but that the Crown of England had a right prior to the surrender under the Statute of Absentees as applied to the heirs of De Lacy, and that therefore the whole was now vested in the King, who might re-distribute it as he pleased. The Lord Deputy St. John drew up two projects for the plantation of Longford, which, with other documents of great interest on the same subject, are now printed for the first time in the Appendix. St. John's second project, with some amendments, seems to have been the one finally adopted. One of the conditions imposed upon the planters was the following:—

> 'The lessor and lessees of Longford are to treat together for the rent of every acre, and in case they cannot agree, then two Commissioners are to repair to the land to be demised, and are

[1] 'Cartron signifies a quarter, and is derived, through the French *quarteron*, from the mediæval *quarteronus*: it was in very common use in Connaught as well as in Longford and Westmeath and King's County, and was applied to a parcel of land varying in amount from 100 to 160 acres.' (Joyce's *Irish Names of Places*, 1st Series, vol. i. p. 225.) 'The land in ancient Ireland was measured more by quality than area. A denomination or division of land in a poor country was of a larger extent than in a rich one.' (Professor O'Curry's *Lectures*,

upon view thereof to assess the rent as near to the value of the land as it may be *bonâ fide* to be let for, and the lessors and lessees are to contribute equally for the Commissioners' troubles and charges while they shall be at that business.'

The natives of Longford sent in a strong remonstrance against the intended plantation, declaring that it was a 'grievous thing' that after their chiefs had served the Crown faithfully in war at home and abroad, and while they were all now living peacefully and loyally, an old long dormant title of three centuries ago should be revived to take away their inheritances, besides that it involved a breach of the solemn promises made to them by Queen Elizabeth; and that if their lands were taken from them, they, being no tradesmen, would have no means of supporting themselves but by resorting to spoils and robberies. This remonstrance had no effect, and the plantation was proceeded with.

On November 8th, 1619, St. John wrote a letter to the English Privy Council, which is a curious revelation of the policy of James and his advisers and favourites. A deputation of the O'Farrells had waited upon the Deputy in order that he might hear their grievances and acquaint them with the King's decision.

'We treated,' he says, 'as fairly as we could, and, bestowing much good language upon them, in the end they yielded with cheerfulness. But not without a promise from us to become suitors for them to his Majesty that no more charges might be imposed upon them, nor no more land taken from them than is mentioned in his Majesty's instructions. But now may it please your lordships to understand that there are several letters come to me, the Lord Deputy, for lands to be passed to some that have obtained this special favour, not only to have them freed from the deduction of a fourth part, but with directions nevertheless that the undertakers shall be fully provided for, according to the quantities assigned to them, and the supply of this bounty must fall upon the natives,' three-fourths, which will be the more grievous unto them. These letters I have hitherto concealed

Introduction, p. xcv.) Hence, Dr. O'Sullivan adds, the curious measures of land in use formerly at Cavan, $6\frac{1}{4}$ acres made a pint of land, because it would take about that quantity of seed to sow it. In Kerry, Arthur Young tells us an ounce of land was in the same way attached to a cabin in the last century.

from the natives, and in truth, as the letters preceded the instructions in date, his Majesty is yet at liberty to do as he pleases.'

Admitting that a grievous wrong would be done to the natives if the letters were obeyed, St. John was yet careful to hold the candle to his sable majesty, and point out how that wrong might be safely done. The instructions which were communicated to the Irish had directed that all the inhabitants of Longford, old and new proprietors, were to surrender each of them one fourth of their lands, to meet certain composition charges upon the whole county, but the letters written by the King to the Deputy in private, ordered that certain undertakers and patentees should have their proportions of land freed from any such deduction of a fourth, which ultimately would have to be made good out of the natives' lands. Thus, as usual, all James's fine intentions in their favour were virtually if not ostensibly set aside. In one of his first letters about the plantation to St. John, he declared, that, in undertaking it, he had no other object at heart than 'the good of the Irish' and 'zeal for the service of Almighty God.' As a specimen of the fulfilment of his pious intentions, it may be here mentioned that on August 23d, 1620, his Majesty ordered his Irish vice-treasurer, Sir Arthur Savage, to deliver over to Sir Robert Hay, page of the royal bed-chamber, the sum of three thousand pounds, equivalent to about thirty thousand at the present day, 'out of the fines of the lately escheated lands of Ely O'Carroll and Longford.' This was the first Stuart king's notion of a 'zeal for the service of Almighty God.' Robert Hay was, I believe, the younger brother of James's disgusting favourite, James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, on whom he bestowed the hand of the richest heiress in England, Lady Honora Denny, daughter of Edward Denny, Earl of Norwich, grandson of the good and learned Sir Anthony Denny and his wife, the aunt of Sir Walter Raleigh.

The rules suggested by St. John in his projects for the Longford plantation, that gavelkind should be strictly prohibited, and that no native should have less than sixty acres of land, were wise, their object being to establish on the land

a set of prosperous independent freeholders or proprietors, instead of a population composed of owners of rundaled scraps of pasturage.[1] But these were the very rules which were sure to meet with the strongest opposition from the poor and ignorant Irish, long accustomed to gavel and rundale the land as their fathers had done, at their own will and pleasure. After the whole territory had been surveyed and the allotments distributed, this class of the Longford Irish sent in a long and very remarkable memorial of their grievances, which will be found in the Appendix. The following passage in it has been alluded to by Mr. Prendergast in his valuable 'History of the Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland':—

> '*Item*, it so fell out that divers of the poor natives or freeholders of that county, after the loss of all their possessions there, some of them ran mad, and others died instantly of grief, as James MacWilliam O'Farrell of Clangrad, and Donogh MacGerald O'Farrell of Cuillogh, and others whose names for brevity sake are omitted, but who on their death-beds were in such a taking that they, by their earnest persuasion, caused some of their family and friends to bring them out to have a last sight of the hills and fields they lost in the late plantation, every one of them dying immediately after.'

There is probably some exaggeration in this sad memorial, the echo of the old *væ victis*, but no Irishman or Irishwoman can read it without a feeling of deep pity for the memorialists. The re-distribution of their lands in a very unjust way must have caused intense grief to the old owners, who in their simple fashion had endeavoured, as the King's letter of 1611 before quoted shows, to improve their freeholds. Now they

[1] 'The political characteristics of peasant proprietors are generally determined by the extent of their holdings. Where these are sufficiently large to ensure a good livelihood with some means of saving, there is no society more sturdy and independent, or more inclined to assert their political rights, and of this class are the proprietors of Norway, Switzerland, and the United States. But where the lands are unduly subdivided, and the proprietors, being impoverished, are driven to other employments to eke out a subsistence, their condition is little better than that of hired labourers. They are ignorant and dependent, and prone to follow leaders, rather than to associate themselves for any popular reform. Such a miserable class of peasant proprietors exists in France and some other parts of the continent.'—(*History of European Democracy*, by Sir Erskine May, vol. i. p. 39.)

were, after all James's promises, to be uprooted from their loved old homes, and new divisions of the land, new customs, new laws of a strange civilisation, for which they were as yet wholly unfitted, were thrust suddenly upon them. It was not the case of a vast province long wasted by war and irreclaimably turbulent chiefs, which had to be recovered like Ulster for the good of the Commonwealth, but of a comparatively small strip of territory peopled by a fairly docile, peaceably disposed race, who under the civilising influence of the Ulster plantation and the Pale, their neighbours north and south, would soon have become loyal subjects. But the greed of James [1] and his favourites was unappeasable, and we must sorrowfully admit that, on this occasion as on many another, that envy which is the besetting sin of the Irish in all times and places greatly helped to gratify it. Passage after passage of the Longford memorial proves this to have been the case. Thus at the very outset we find the memorialists complaining that 'John McIriel O'Farrell had unfairly obtained two cartrons of land, the rightful property of his eldest brother's son, and that Donogh Duff McBrian O'Farrell, a poor freeholder, having but three demi-quarters of a cartron, "got from the Commissioners" half a cartron, and more augmentation.' [2] The very smallest 'augmentation,' as the memorialists call it, of a poor neighbour's allotment drew upon him the burning wrath of the rest, even although it in no way injured them; they not only murmured against his good fortune, but also proceeded to 'inform' against him as a rebel, or an ex-rebel, in order to deprive him of every acre, old or new, that he possessed.

From other passages in the memorial, we see that the

[1] 'A prince so poor before he came to the throne of England, that, if he had not been supported by the pension which Elizabeth allowed him, he could not have maintained the garb of many of our English gentry, and who, being come to the throne, not only squandered its sacred patrimony upon profane and debauched favourites, but oppressed his people with almost infinite monopolies and projects, which the nation never before heard of, and which were all illegal, to make those favourites rich, while he continued the poorest king that ever governed England.' Coke's *Relation of the Court and State from James I. to Anne*, p. 124.

[2] *v. Appendix G.*

system of rundale in old Longford was almost as bad as that which existed in Gweedore before Lord George Hill attempted to improve that place.[1] Thus Geoffrey O'Farrell complained that he was, by the plantation, dispossessed of a quarter of a cartron in one townland or farm, the third part of a cartron in another, three half-quarters of a cartron in another, half a cartron in another, and the sixteenth part of a cartron in a fifth farm. In fact, the Commissioners and Surveyors of Longford in 1620 must have been often as bewildered as the poor man in Gweedore in 1854 who, when asked to point out his hereditary estate, consisting of no less than thirty-two mere shreds, or scraps of land, rundaled through different farms, gave up, in despair and fear of his brains being over-taxed to lunacy, the work of ascertaining their exact limits, amongst the scraps and shreds of his jealous and quarrelsome neighbours. If an English Commissioner or Surveyor had never set foot in Longford, it is to be feared that gavelkind and rundale would have spoiled all the well-meant attempts of the poor O'Farrell clansmen to improve their land, and would have kept them for centuries in a state of chronic strife and poverty. Their virtues were all their own, their faults were mainly the products of the old clan system, brought into

[1] 'They divided and subdivided, and sold the land without being interfered with, or in anywise controlled. One instance of subdivision may be mentioned, where a small field of about half an acre was held by twenty-six people! . . . The land is never let, sold, or devised by the acre, but by a 'cow's grass,' a complement of land well understood by the people, although, as it varies according to the quality of the land, it comprises for this reason a rather indefinite quantity. . . . In some cases a tenant having any part of a townland (no matter how small) had his proportion in thirty or forty different places, *and without fences between them*, it being utterly impossible to have any, as the proportions were so very numerous and frequently so small that not more than half a stone of oats was required to sow one of such divisions. . . . A man who had some good land at one extremity of a townland was sure to have some bad at the other, a bit of middling good land in the centre, and bits of other quality at other corners, each bounded by his neighbours' patches of property, without any fence or ditch between them. Under such circumstances could anyone wonder at the desperation of a poor man who, having his inheritance in *thirty-two* different places, abandoned them in utter despair of ever being able to make them out?' 'Fights, trespasses, confusions, disputes, and assaults, were the natural and unavoidable consequences of this system, those evils were endless and perpetuated. (*Facts from Gweedore*: Hatchard Sons, Piccadilly, 1854.)

harsh and premature conflict with an advancing civilisation which they misunderstood and disliked.

The plantation of Ely O'Carroll, projected by a covetous Irishman of the old native race, who had adopted an English name, and acquired estates in Leinster and Munster, went hand in hand with that of Longford. The fact of the chieftain being a child, and one of the King's wards, made the attempts to destroy his title peculiarly unjust. But no considerations of justice or regard for his ward's rights weighed for a moment with James; the minority and dependence of the Irish Naboth only made the task of spoliation easier to the British Ahab. Leitrim, Iregan, and Fercal (the territories of the O'Dunns and O'Mulloys), O'Fox's country, part of Clancolman in Meath, and the MacCoghlans' country, were next undertaken. On December 31, 1620, St. John wrote to the English Council that the freeholders of Fercal and the rest were likely to come in at once and submit to the plantations; but he complains that, although a year has elapsed since the plantations of Longford and Ely O'Carroll, few of the undertakers have come to reside on their lands, and he begs the English Council to remedy this evil, and to impress upon the undertakers how important it was that they should not content themselves with merely extracting rents, but that they should reside in Ireland, plant, build, and set a good example to the natives, otherwise the latter will 'return to their old ways, and refuse the friendship or protection of the English.'[1] St. John's vain attempts to remedy those abuses, and the burden laid upon him in every way, led to the despatch of nine Commissioners from

[1] One of the Commissioners sent over in 1613 to inquire into Irish grievances, Sir Charles Cornwallis, wrote on October 22d, 1613, to the Earl of Northampton as follows: 'By what we have already heard, it seems that great oppressions have been offered to the people by the soldiers. . . . If your lordship will be pleased to pardon me for a speech delivered in so coarse and homely words, I cannot forbear to tell you what one of good understanding answered to one that asked his opinion of this people and government, which was that he would use no long discourse, but in a few words deliver his conceit, and that was that 'those Irish are a scurvy people and are as scurvily governed.' The judgment was a bitter one, but bitterness is strength, and Irishmen might do better to profit by it rather than quarrel with it. A country split up into jealous clans and factions, and governed by ecclesiastical politicians, can never be otherwise judged.

England, authorised to inquire into the never-ending grievances, real and imaginary, of Ireland; and in a few weeks after their arrival, that is in April 1622, St. John resigned the Lord Deputyship.

He was succeeded by Henry, first Viscount Falkland, who was to finish the plantations begun by his predecessors. The smaller chiefs, as St. John expected, submitted to the plantation of their lands; the O'Rourkes of Leitrim also, the Lord Deputy reported, 'seemed glad to make their dependence on the Crown, and to relinquish the old overgrown title of O'Rourke.' Their chief's legitimacy was doubtful; he was a very young man, residing in London as a ward of the King, who had granted to him and his mother small pensions. The pension of Brian O'Rourke was, however, according to his own account, always in arrear; and in the Appendix will be found some curious and amusing petitions, in prose and verse, from him to his royal guardian, on the subject of his debts and a long imprisonment he suffered for the not very serious offence of celebrating the festival of St. Patrick's night too uproariously in the streets of London. He was evidently, however, a scapegrace, and his clan could not have suffered by his enforced absence, or the confiscation of his rather dubious rights. The case of the chief of the MacCoghlans' country was a very different one. Sir John MacCoghlan, who had been created a baronet, and who had been a loyal servitor of the Crown, consented, while he resided for a time in London, to the plantation of his territory, but on his return to Ireland —at the instigation, according to the Deputy, of the Roman Catholic priests, who were emboldened by the rumours of the Spanish marriage treaty—the chief refused to surrender his lands at Banagher, on which the Government desired to build a fort. The English Council wrote, directing that if Sir John agreed to surrender Banagher he was to be treated with all the consideration his great services to the Crown in the wars against Tyrone deserved, but that if he refused, his Majesty would be highly displeased, as he required the place, and could not dispense with it. Ultimately Sir John surrendered Banagher, and in other respects did not fare badly, but the

plantation of MacCoghlan's territory was accomplished, not without earnest protests on the part of the clan. Brian MacCoghlan alleged that, of the three hundred acres which he had inherited, one hundred and sixty had been granted to St. John, and Kedagh MacCoghlan alleged that, of two hundred and eighty acres of his inheritance, ninety had also been given to the Lord Deputy, and that one Terence MacCoghlan had obtained a share of the rest. Protests were also sent in by the O'Mulloys, O'Foxes, and O'Rourkes, of unfair divisions and false measurements, but they had little or no effect.

The task committed to Falkland of receiving all those protests, and quieting the disturbances consequent on their failure, was an onerous one, and it might well be supposed he would have hesitated to add to it; but this was so far from being the case, that he had hardly assumed the reins when he of himself began to urge upon the King and Council the necessity of extending plantations in every direction. Falkland's marked anxiety on this point drew from the English Commissioners before mentioned, who were still investigating Irish grievances, the following remarkable remonstrance:—

Commissioners for Irish Affairs to the English Council,[1] *July* 1623.

May it please your Lordships,—According to your directions we have taken into consideration the Lord Deputy's letter of the 3rd of May last, wherein we find, as we conceive, an overture of much matter in preparation to make plantations hereafter in several places in that kingdom. Though we do acknowledge that plantations made upon just grounds and duly established, according to the true intention of them when they were first propounded, are good for the securing and settling of many disordered territories in that country; yet, considering that works of this nature have been much practised by the private aims of many particular persons, only to get large tracts of land into their own families for their own profit, without any care of settling them for the strength and satisfaction of the country, as was intended they should, and withal remembering that they are causes of much discontent and exasperation to the people whom they concern,

[1] *MSS. Rolls House.*

and that the late plantations are yet in their infancy, and far from being settled in that good order and strength as we hope in time they will arrive to, if they receive no interruption; we think it unreasonable to think of any more plantations for the present. But that your lordships may be pleased, by your favourable letters, to take knowledge of the Lord Deputy's care to advance the King's profit, and the good estate of that kingdom, by propositions which he intends hereafter to make unto your lordships to which you will give a willing ear, and to let him know that you think he doeth his Majesty good service if he can settle any disordered Irish country, by breaking the dependencies of the people from their chief lords, and disposing the land in orderly manner amongst the natives and servitors, to their good contentments, with reservation of profitable rents and tenures to his Majesty. And that to this purpose you will take order, according to his advice, that nothing shall be done here which may turn to his Majesty's disservice in that kind. All which we humbly submit to your lordships' better judgment.

Humphrey May.	Hen. Holcroft.
William Jones.	Richard (*illegible*).
Humphrey Winche.	

The chief, indeed the only, plantation actually carried out by Falkland was that of the O'Byrnes' territory in Wicklow, and it brought upon him, but still more upon Sir William Parsons, an immense amount of odium. For nearly two hundred years historians have heaped censures on the latter for his share in this plantation of Ranelagh and Cosha, and yet in truth he seems to have played quite a subordinate part in the transaction. But Carte has been the authority followed by all later writers, and Carte, like his patron Ormond, detested Parsons for his Puritanism and active exertions against the rebels in 1641–3. Carte's story of the O'Byrne case shortly stated is, that at the close of her reign Queen Elizabeth had directed her Lords Justices to grant by letters patent to Phelim MacPheagh O'Byrne the lands of Ranelagh and Cosha occupied by him and his clan; that, the Queen dying before the patent was made out, King James gave similar directions respecting it; that Sir Richard Graham, an old servitor, coveting the lands, endeavoured to dispute

Phelim's title, but that when an inquisition was taken before Sir William Parsons the jurors found for Phelim; that Graham and others still disputed the title, and that Lord Esmond and Phelim's brother, Redmond MacPheagh O'Byrne, assisted them in doing so; that Sir William Parsons produced a book of surveys taken by him to prove that the land was the inheritance of freeholders, not the absolute estate of Phelim; that finally Esmond, Parsons, Graham, and the Lord Deputy Falkland, imprisoned two of Phelim's sons and himself, in Dublin Castle, on suspicion of treason, bribing and torturing many persons in order to make them give perjured testimony against the prisoners; that in 1628 Commissioners were appointed to inquire into their case, before whom Mr. Eustace of Castlemartin and other men of honour and good social position were examined; that the Commissioners found that the prisoners were innocent and set them at liberty, but that part of Phelim's lands was granted to Sir William Parsons.[1]

This long sensational story told by Carte, less for the clearing of the O'Byrnes than the censuring of Parsons (who for his surveying work would probably in any case have obtained land in Wicklow), has been accepted by many modern historians, without any examination into Carte's authorities. They are nothing more nor less than a copy of Phelim's own petition, and a number of uncertified and unsigned copies of depositions, made in his favour before the Commissioners of 1628, which are preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. All the original documents connected with the case, except a few of Falkland's letters and statements, have been long ago destroyed or lost, and not a single deposition, original or copy, remains of those taken against the O'Byrne chief. We are therefore left with most imperfect materials whereon to form an impartial judgment of this famous case, which occupied the attention of three Lord Deputies in succession. In the preface to his 'History of the Irish Catholic Confederation,' Mr. J. T. Gilbert, F.S.A., rejects the depositions relating to the massacres of 1641–2 hereafter

[1] Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. i. p. 55.

given, because some of them were made by farmers, traders, labourers, &c. He also says that many of those depositions are 'mere copies' of lost originals (in which he is, as we shall hereafter see, wholly mistaken) and that they are therefore of no value. The remarkable fact to which I now desire to call special attention is that, while Mr. Gilbert rejects what he believes to be copies of depositions made by persons in humble life in 1641, he is at great pains to print in the first volume of his above-mentioned history, an immense number of uncertified and unsigned copies of depositions made in 1628, by very humble, ignorant, clansmen of Phelim O'Byrne and by acknowledged thieves, vagrants, and street beggars. The evidence of farmers, traders, and industrious poor people (against whose integrity there is not a particle of evidence) respecting the massacres of Protestants in 1641, according to Mr. Gilbert's reasoning, is worthless, but the mere uncertified copies of depositions made by the ignorant kerns of the O'Byrnes, and by men who, according to Phelim's own petition, written when he did not know they were about to appear as witnesses for him, were thieves, traitors, and vagrants, is to be accepted as entirely trustworthy against Sir William Parsons. Men like Lysagh Duffe[1] and Walter Butler,[2] who swore in favour of Phelim against Parsons, would manifestly have sworn anything against anybody for a bribe of a few pounds. Butler indeed frankly admitted that he would have sworn against his own father from motives of self-interest. When such men's evidence is accepted by Tory writers like Carte, and modern writers of the Nationalist or 'Home Rule' schools, I think I may be fairly excused for complaining of the absurdly 'romantic' and unreal way in which the facts of Irish history are treated. Even if we admit that those uncertified copies of depositions in favour of Phelim O'Byrne are probably accurate copies, it is certain that in the history of no other country under the sun but Ireland, would such a mass of rubbish, as most of them are, be accepted as good evidence against statesmen, judges, and magistrates.

[1] *v. Appendix J.* [2] *v. Appendix K.*

The only trustworthy evidence given in favour of Phelim and his sons was that of Mr. Eustace of Castlemartin. It clearly shows—if the copy, which is all that we have to trust to, be correct—that, as I have never doubted, the Esmonds, Grahams, and probably Sir William Parsons, were anxious to obtain part of the lands of Ranelagh and Cosha, and that for that purpose they used rather unscrupulous means to prevent Phelim obtaining a patent grant of the whole territory. But it is essential to the right understanding of this important case, that the reader should note, that Mr. Eustace's evidence shows just as clearly, that Phelim's anger with Esmond, Graham, and Parsons, who tried to prevent his obtaining the patent grant, was not one whit greater than the anger of his brother and the 'humble clansmen' with himself, for attempting to 'grab' the whole territory in which they had vested rights. Mr. Eustace's statement in favour of Phelim will be found at length in the Appendix, but I will here quote that part of it which shows that, if the English undertakers had never cast covetous eyes on Wicklow, Phelim's claim to the O'Byrne lands there would have been resisted by his brother and their clansmen. Mr. Eustace says:—

> 'I do well remember and know that since the time that Phelim MacPheagh O'Byrne procured letters out of England for confirmation of the first instructions to pass to him the whole territory of Ranelagh, that his own brother Redmond, and all the natives of Ranelagh and Cosha, that were supposed freeholders by gavelkind of the most part of the said lands, did always join together to do him all the mischief they could; as will appear by their working together to hinder him from passing a patent all the time of Lord Grandison's government, and in the now Lord Deputy's time. And part of the same natives do now also accuse him more than any others, and have all their dependencies upon none but such as have got part of the said Phelim's estate or patrimony or others that are his known adversaries.'

In the eyes of Mr. Eustace and Carte, the estate was Phelim's, and the 'common sort,' as they call those whom Mr. Lecky calls 'humble clansmen,' should have been well content to have their dependency on him. All this is natural

enough in high Tory thinkers like Carte, but it is surely strange to find writers like Mr. Gilbert, professedly advocates of 'national' and 'popular' rights in Ireland, making of Phelim a hero-chief, who stood up for the same rights and whose land was 'grabbed' from him by the covetous undertaker, all the while that Mr. Eustace's truthful words show that in the eyes of his clansmen Phelim himself was the most shameless and unkindly landgrabber of all!

In flat contradiction to Dr. O'Sullivan's statement, that the Irish clansmen always in the seventeenth century sided with their chief against the English undertaker, preferring the former as landlord, we find the 'humble clansmen' of Ranelagh eagerly helping Parsons and Esmond against Phelim MacPheagh and preferring to become their tenants. The truth is, that the contest for the territory was quite as much between the chief and the clansmen, as between him and the English undertakers and servitors. I know it will be said that he, as a native chief, had a better right to the lands than the latter, if tanistry and gavelkind were to be abolished. But those who think with me that the *salus populi*, the good of the 'humble clansmen,' was the chief thing to be considered, and that they probably understood it better than do some of their professed champions at the present day, will see no reason to regret that they, the clansmen, were able, in conjunction with the English undertaker, to prevent Phelim from obtaining his sweeping patent-grant of the whole clan territory. The line taken by the clansmen may have been due to the old Celtic failing of jealous envy, but it is quite as likely that they felt that if their religion was not interfered with, and their freeholds were assessed like those of Longford, at a moderate rent, fixed by arbitration, they would be far better off than if they remained under their chief, with his sweeping patent, to be 'flayed alive,' as Mr. H. P. Hore has it, by uncertain cosherings and exactions.

As regards the King's share in the O'Byrne case, I have been unable to find any evidence that he ever really intended to grant the whole territory to Phelim MacPheagh. The following documents in the Carew MSS. in the Lambeth

Library, which Carte has studiously omitted to notice, seem to show that, whatever James may have professed, he had no real intention of confirming the patent-grant promised by Elizabeth :—

'*King's Warrant to Sir Patrick Maule, February* 20th, 1617.

'On request made on behalf of the freeholders of the Byrnes' country, county Wicklow, the surrender of their lands hath been accepted and grants made in fee farm, notwithstanding the King's title to many parcels of that land. As the inhabitants thereof, pleasing themselves with their barbarous customs of tanistry and gavelkind, and their petty cavils, do impede the reducing of that country, to that civility which other parts of this kingdom have embraced, we have thought good to quicken them to pass these lands, by demanding our right to their intrusions, concealed wardships, fines for alienations without license, mesne profits, reliefs and sums of money for respite of homage. Sir Patrick Maule having offered to discover divers things of that nature in the Byrnes' country and in Clancappagh the O'Tooles' country, and to make the title of them good to us, we do bestow three parts of four out of all the benefit that shall be made thereof, on him, and order that a grant of these shall be made unto him; and that a Warrant be given to our Lord Chancellor to issue Commissions to enquire of the premises in the said territories, and to command the Barons of our Exchequer to enquire thereof at the Exchequer bar. His Majesty's counsel and all other officers and ministers are to assist Sir Patrick Maule, and before any letters patent of any lands in the said territories are passed the composition shall be first made by the possessors for their intrusions &c., after which the discharges may be given to the inhabitants.'

Patrick Maule was one of those fortunate young Scotch grooms of the royal bedchamber who, if James had lived a little longer, would apparently have absorbed half the revenues of Leinster. On May 20th, 1619, the English Privy Council wrote to St. John and Loftus as follows :—

'For the better settling of the reputed freeholders of the Byrnes' country and Clancappagh in the county of Wicklow, in their estates under English tenures, the King directs Sir Oliver St. John, Lord Deputy, to accept surrenders, and make re-grants

to the said freeholders and inhabitants of their lands to Sir Laurence Esmond, or to such other his heirs and assigns, as the said freeholders and inhabitants shall appoint; the said Sir Laurence having purchased from his Majesty's servant Patrick Maule, one of his bedchamber, his grant ordered by the King's letter, of the 20th of February, in the 15th year of his reign (1619); reserving such rents as were to be reserved to the King by warrant of his letter of the 26th of June, in the ninth year of his reign, and afterwards declared by an Act or agreement of State, thereupon made by the late Lord Deputy and Council, with other rents of the lands reserved in former patents, the intent being that the said freeholders and inhabitants be reinstated in their lands in such measure, as they now stand. They are to be pardoned all mesne rates and forfeitures accrued thereby.'

Phelim O'Byrne in his petition states that James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, had also a grant of the O'Byrnes' territory, greatly to the anger of the freeholders. On June 4th, 1629, Falkland wrote to Carlisle saying 'that upon the accident of an escape' of two of the O'Byrne chief's sons from their prison in the castle, 'something fell out in the course of the examinations then taken reflecting upon him,' the Earl. We are not told what this 'reflection' was, but as the freeholders were very angry with the Earl for his grant of these lands, and with their chief for having connived in it for his own purposes, and their spoliation, it is probable they charged some of Carlisle's friends in Dublin Castle with having aided the O'Byrnes to escape.

James seems to have granted away the lands like a fraudulent mortgagor three deep. He was probably all through playing false with Phelim and the clan, seeking nothing but supplies of money and the gratification of his favourites. Even Carte admits that he had squandered in the first sixteen years of his reign[1] two million two hundred thousand pounds on his base favourites, and that in the last years of his life he was without money or credit to borrow it. About that time he was caricatured in Antwerp, with his empty pockets hanging out, and a cradle on his back, following

[1] Carte, vol. i. p. 101. Brodie, vol. ii.

his amiable but unhappy daughter the Queen of Bohemia, dressed as an Irish beggar.

Falkland's own words, in the following letter, show clearly enough that it was not because he was misled by Parsons or Esmond, that he urged the withholding of the letters patent to Phelim O'Byrne, but because he desired to obtain six thousand acres of the territory, as an appanage for his two younger sons. This was the unworthy motive that dictated the following servile and fulsome epistle to Buckingham, while the O'Byrne case was pending. It is here printed for the first time.

'Right Excellent Lord,[1]—What care and labour soever is used here to withdraw the affections and dependence of the men of war and ministers of state from you, yet my hope is that as long as I, your Grace's true-hearted servant, shall hold the place I now do in this government, you will not abandon the care, protection, and patronage, of that and me, and them, nor suffer any other to supplant you in that charge, for which you are best competent. For my part, however, I am well content to change the patronage of St. Patrick for that of St. George,[2] nor will I ever quit my St. George for the patronage of Sir Lyonel, whatsoever other men may do, so I beseech your lordship to be resolved (i.e. certain). I not long since received a letter from his Majesty, by order from the Lord Treasurer, to stop my proceedings in a small plantation, but of great consequence, in a territory within twenty miles of this town, called the Ranelagh, whereunto one Phelim MacPheagh O'Byrne lays a birthright claim, and receives very undeserved countenance therein at Court, and I fear my Lord Treasurer is so far disposed towards him, which I cannot but wonder at, considering what information I gave him both of the matter and of our proceedings therein. That letter of his Majesty's hath given me occasion to present an humble answer unto him, which I beseech your Lordship to do me the honour to

[1] Carte Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

[2] The words 'patronage of St. Patrick' may be an unseemly allusion to Sir Patrick Maule, or they may be meant to show Falkland's contemptuous indifference towards Ireland. 'St. George' is an allusion of the same kind to Buckingham, whose Christian name was George, and 'Sir Lyonel' is an allusion to Buckingham's once creature and tool, afterwards hated rival, Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, Lord Treasurer of England, who seems to have favoured Phelim's claims, probably to please Hay.

deliver to his Majesty with your own gracious hand. Both because it may be conveyed with the more acceptable countenance, be the more willingly read, and run no peril after reading to fall into improper hands. And lastly, because it refers unto your lordship's relation of the full information of the quality and conditions of the business itself, and our form of proceeding in it, which I herewith send your Grace by my servant Mr. Græme. The young man is well instructed in the whole matter and carriage of the affair, and may it please your Grace to command Henry Holcraft to confer with him about it, so that a brief abstract may by him be collated out of the whole, which may give his Majesty and your Grace good satisfaction, and persuade you to refer the consideration of all to the Lords of the Council, with such commendations as a matter of greater importance than it seems to be. For we earnestly desire to have it thoroughly scanned by those who are intelligent, and who will not, out of any private respect, look upon it with an indifferent eye. When I found the ordering of that would be taken out of our hands who had so laboured to find out a good title for his Majesty, I was a suitor for six thousand acres of it for two of my sons, and if that resolution be taken, I must still continue that suit. But if it shall be referred to me to plant and order it for his Majesty's benefit, I will quit all thought of myself and mine in it. All which I leave to your gracious consideration of me. I propose to send Maule very speedily after this bearer, and by him, since you have barred me the giving new year's gifts, to present you the use of such a proposition as shall not be unworthy your credit to carry. Wherein I will then labour and care as becomes my professions, and the bond of your Grace's favour, which tie me to remain ever your Grace's most humble, affectionate servant. —Falkland.'

This was the last plantation, properly so called, which was actually effected in Ireland under the Stuart kings. The great plantation of Connaught which had been projected early in James's reign, was laid aside for a while, towards the close of Falkland's rule. To settle and unsettle a few Irish chiefs and their clans in small scattered territories throughout Leinster was an easier task than to disturb the great western province and oust legions of Burkes, Blakes, Bodkins, Browns, D'Arcys, Lynches, Joyces, of the old English and Irish mixed blood, with the house of De Burgh

at their head, which had in old times mated with English royalty and still worthily held a high place at the English Court. Moreover, the empty exchequer to which Charles had succeeded, made him anxious to conciliate for the present his Irish subjects. Money must be found to meet the expenses of the government, and Charles had exhausted all his expedients to obtain it from his English subjects, short of that 'hydra,' as he termed a parliament. The Irish, even as early as 1628, had begun to understand the value of that policy, summarised in this century in Daniel O'Connell's maxim, 'England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity,' and they naturally enough hastened to take advantage of the King's necessities. If it were not an Irish hand that drew that Antwerp caricature, before referred to, representing James with his empty pockets following his impoverished daughter, the representative of continental Protestantism, we may be sure it was well known to Irish exiles in the Low Countries and Spain, and to their kindred in Ireland. But these latter were at present full of deferential loyalty. A deputation of the chief Catholic Irish noblemen and gentlemen waited on Falkland in Dublin, and offered large sums of money to assist Charles in his need, provided that certain concessions or 'Graces' as they were called, were granted by his Majesty.[1] The chief Protestant landowners also offered to contribute if some of their grievances were redressed. Unfortunately it was inevitable at that time that the redress of a Roman Catholic grievance in Ireland should immediately become the foundation of a Protestant one, and *vice versâ*. Falkland, weary of Irish grievances in general, irritated and disappointed and unpopular with all parties, could only suggest that they should send agents to Charles to make their offers and their desires better understood. This they did. And now began that long series of negotiations concerning the 'Graces' (as the Irish were pleased to call what the English would have called 'rights'), which had such a disastrous ending more than thirteen years later and which brought out so fully the cardinal failing of the unhappy king, an absolute incapacity

[1] Carte, vol. i. p. 102. Leland, vol. iii. p. 3.

for practising the supreme virtue of truthfulness. Mr. Hepworth Dixon most truly says of Charles that with all his taste and skill in art and dress, his superficial dignity and accomplishments, 'he was in the presence of the nobler verities a fool. No love of truth as truth, no loyalty to fact as fact, sustained his life. He saw that policies of deception have a first success; he could not see the weakness, shame, and danger that are sown in every violated oath.' [1]

Charles made his promise of the Graces with the fixed and deliberate design of breaking it, and that from motives as mercenary as any that ever actuated his shrewder father. The Irish agents on the part of their employers offered him a voluntary contribution of 120,000*l.* in subsidies of 40,000*l.* yearly, to be paid in quarterly instalments, and he in return promised to grant the much coveted 'Graces,' the most important of which were the following:—

1. No inquisition in future to be made to find the King's title to any lands which have been in the quiet possession of their owners as loyal subjects of the Crown for the last sixty years, and this grace to be confirmed by an Act of the next Parliament held in Ireland. The Connaught landowners to have their titles fully secured against such inquisitions, by the enrolment of their old grants, or else that new grants be made to them, and duly enrolled, and an Act in the next Parliament to be passed, confirming them in the quiet possession of their ancient estates.

2. The Ulster undertakers to have their estates confirmed to them upon payment of 30*l.* fine, upon every thousand acres in a year's time, and upon their consenting to have their rents doubled from the date of the new patents.

3. Abuses in the Court of Wards to be abolished, and that when inquisition into inheritance of lands by descent is made, the Court be prohibited from making any inquiry beyond the last deceased ancestor who had held them. Fees in all law courts to be regulated and reduced, and also sheriffs' fees.

4. Subjects to be allowed to sue their liveries of estates *oustre le mains* and other grants in the Court of Wards, and

[1] *Her Majesty's Tower*, by Hepworth Dixon, vol. iii. p. 332.

lawyers and students of the Inns of Court to be allowed to study and practise as lawyers, without taking the oath of supremacy, provided that they take instead of it an oath of allegiance to the King as a ruler in all things temporal.

5. Soldiers to be called into their garrisons and not permitted to oppress the people by taking from them provisions or money. Provosts-marshals' powers to be restrained, and martial law only to be used in time of open rebellion or war.

6. Jurors and witnesses in private causes, unless they have been guilty of gross misconduct, not to be summoned before the Star Chamber.

7. No extraordinary warrants of assistance touching clandestine marriages, christenings, and burials, or any other contumacies against the jurisdiction of the Established Church, to be issued by the Lord Deputy or any other governors; nor are the clergy of the Established Church to keep private prisons for such delinquents, but they are to be committed according to the ordinary course of law by the King's officers to the common gaol, and all unlawful exactions of the said clergy to cease.

8. Nobility and gentry having estates in Ireland to be obliged to reside there, and not to leave it without license, except it be on official duty if they are employed by the Government.

The first and second of the above-mentioned Graces were those on which the petitioners' hearts were most naturally set. They were designed to prevent further plantations, which left almost every landowner, Catholic and Protestant, in Ireland, with a sword hanging over his head [1] in the shape of an inquisition into an ancient Crown title, unheard of within the memory of living men. But these two were the very Graces which Charles was inwardly determined not to

[1] 'It was an age of adventurers and projectors . . . everybody was at work in finding out flaws in people's titles to their estates: the old pipe rolls were searched to find out the old rents reserved and charged upon them, the patent rolls in the Tower of London (where they are preserved in much greater numbers than in Ireland) were looked over for the ancient grants, and no means left untried to force gentlemen to a new composition, or to the accepting of new grants at higher rents than before.'—Carte, vol. i. p. 55.

grant. He nevertheless dismissed the agents with the fairest and most gracious words, and transmitted instructions to Falkland to declare that all the above-mentioned Graces and many more, for the benefit of Irish trade, would be granted, and that on November 3rd, 1628, an Irish Parliament should be called to pass the first two into law, coupled with an Act of free and general pardon for all offences heretofore committed, which might invalidate the titles of the Irish landowners. In their exuberant outburst of gratitude for this bare promise of common justice, the Irish Catholics and Protestants alike, as is their way, instead of prudently waiting as Scotchmen would have done, to see what the Parliament would bring, agreed that the first quarterly instalment of their subsidies should begin on April 1st, 1628—an ominous date for their proud hopes of unimpeachable title-deeds. This promised Parliament, which was to confirm their Irish petition of rights, fooled them to the very top of their bent. The instalment was paid, and Falkland at once issued the writ of summons for the November session. But whether designedly of himself, or at the secret bidding of the King, he omitted, before issuing the writ of summons, to send to England, as under Poyning's Act he was bound to do, a certificate of the causes and considerations (drawn up by him and the Irish council) for holding it, in order to obtain the King's formal license. The English council noticing this error of omission, referred it to the consideration of the judges. They pronounced the writ of summons wholly illegal, and no Parliament was held. It is impossible to doubt that Charles never intended it should be held. Leland, always disposed to judge him leniently, is obliged to admit that his sincerity on this occasion was 'suspicious,' inasmuch as he could have directed Falkland to send over the necessary certificate to obtain the royal license and to then issue a new writ of summons for the Parliament.[1]

[1] Leland, vol. ii. p. 340. Charles was all through merely practising in a clumsy way a piece of his father's kingcraft which would never have imposed upon Englishmen or Scotchmen, which in England and Scotland they would have torn to shreds and flung in his face. But it served to gull the credulous Catholic Irish, and the Protestants in Ireland had to be content with it, situated as they

Still the sanguine and credulous nature of the Catholic Irish made them rely on the Stuart promise. A freer exercise of their religion was granted them, or rather a freer concourse of Jesuits, friars, and priests, emissaries of political religionism from Italy and Spain, was allowed, and those, whom at all times the Irish people are in their blindness proud to call their natural leaders in their struggles for religious and civil freedom, persuaded them that all the rest would follow in good time, and that Charles and his Roman Catholic queen were the best friends of Ireland. The quarterly payments from both sides went on regularly until October 1st, 1629. Three months before that date, Falkland was recalled and the Earl of Cork, and Loftus Viscount Ely, the Lord Chancellor, were appointed Lords Justices. A brief interval of Home Rule under those Irish magnates did nothing to diminish the troubles and discords of Ireland. Roman Catholics and Protestants were only united upon one single point, viz. in considering that the quarterly payments of 10,000*l.* were too great burdens for them to continue to bear. They therefore unanimously represented that half that sum was all that they could contribute quarterly in future, until the whole 120,000*l.* was paid, and the King reluctantly consented to this modification of the original agreement. The truth was, that the Irish landowners, when they found that the granting of the 'Graces,' and the Parliament which was to make those Graces law, were indefinitely postponed, excusably enough thought that they too might be allowed to postpone the payment in full of the sum they had tendered, and in part paid, fully relying upon the royal promises.

The Roman Catholic Irish being the most numerous, though not the richest, two-thirds of the subsidy fell upon them, and they looked upon the King much as a gentleman who lends money to another or wins it from him at a game of cards (the latter comparison suits the case best) looks on him as responsible for a debt of honour.[1]

were in a Catholic land. For Reid's conviction of Charles's insincerity about this Parliament, v. *History of Presbyterian Church*, vol. i. p. 141.

[1] Carte is very severe on the Irish Roman Catholics for their 'arrogance' in

As the time approached when even the quarterly five thousands must cease unless the Irish would consent to renew their contributions or could be compelled to do so, the King resolved to commit the government of the island to a strong hand; and, in 1631, Wentworth was appointed Lord Deputy, but he did not arrive in Dublin until July 23rd, 1633. In an old MS. diary kept by Sir Edward Denny, of Tralee Castle, which is preserved amongst the family papers of his descendant, the present Sir Edward Denny, Bart., there is a brief but significant entry, showing the feelings of the Irish nobility and landed gentry—indeed, of all classes and creeds in Ireland—on hearing of the advent among them of the great renegade, who had placed his iron will and conspicuous talents at the service of the King,

> '23d *Julye*, 1633.—The Lord Viscounte Wentworth came to Ireland to governe ye kingdom. Manie men feare.'

For the year and a half preceding his arrival in Ireland, Wentworth had been in constant communication with the Lords Justices, chiefly for the purpose of securing a continuance of the subsidies, which, under the arrangement of 1629, would expire in November 1632. Lord Cork and the Chancellor suggested that the burden should henceforth be borne by the recusants—that is, the Roman Catholics—who absented themselves from the Protestant Church worship on Sundays, and who, under an Act passed in the second year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, were liable to a weekly fine of one shilling. But the Lords Justices, although they suggested this course in private to Wentworth and the King, were desirous to make it appear to the public that the suggestion came from Wentworth. He was, however, determined not to rely on such an uncertain source of supply, and he was also averse to irritating the Roman Catholic majority. Not that he feared them, any more than he feared the Protestant

thinking that the King was their debtor (*Life of Ormond*, vol. i. p. 107), but the arrogance as well as the falsehood and meanness were all on his side. Carte writes as if the Graces had all been granted, when, in fact, they were, to all intents and purposes, as unreal as the prince's fine clothes in Andersen's fairy tale, except in the eyes of the courtly biographer.

minority, headed by the astute Earl, his fixed idea, to which he held fast even at his trial in Westminster Hall, being, that Ireland was a conquered country, to be governed solely by and for the pleasure of the King. With his mind filled with this dangerous half-truth, he set himself to the task of outwitting and browbeating the Lords Justices, forgetting in his arrogance that they were natives of the conquering country, and that one of them, a veteran in political intrigues, was as able and as strong-willed as himself, and understood the spirit of the times and the condition of Ireland far better than he did. Wentworth, with all the advantages of his position as a royal favourite, was no match for '*Old Richard*,'[1] as in one of his latest letters, two months before his execution, he calls the Earl of Cork, who, before his enemy was born, had foiled as great ones at Elizabeth's council board.[2] Charles and Wentworth, in pursuance of their 'policy of deception,'

[1] 'Old Richard hath sworn against me gallantly, and thus battered and blown upon on all sides I go on the way contentedly, take up the cross and gently tread those steps which will, I trust, lead me to quietness at last.'—*Strafford to Loftus*, February 4th, 1640 (O.S.). Lord Cork deposed that when the Recorder of Dublin spoke of their charters the Earl of Strafford replied: "You must understand, Mr. Recorder, that Ireland is a conquered nation, and the King may give 'em what laws he pleases, and after some more words he added that their charters were antiquated, and no further good than the King was pleased to make 'em." On this third article charged against him Mr. Maynard observed that though that kingdom (Ireland) was long since annexed to this, yet the greatest part of it is now possessed by the posterity of those who went from hence.'—Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 404.

[2] 'When God had blessed me with a reasonable fortune and estate, Sir Henry Wallop, Treasurer at War, Sir Robert Gardiner, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Sir Robert Dillon, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir Richard Bingham, Chief Commissioner of Connaught, being displeased with some purchases of land I had made in Munster, all joined together, and by their letter complained against me to the Queen. . . . But I so fully answered and cleared all their objections, and delivered such full and evident justification for my acquittal that the Queen was pleased to use these words: "By God's death, all those are but inventions against this young man, and all his sufferings have been to be able to do us service, and those complaints are urged only to forestall him therein. But we find him a man fit to be employed by ourselves, and we will employ him in that service, and Wallop and his adherents shall know that it shall not be in the power of any of them to wrong him, and Wallop shall not be our treasurer any longer." And, arising from the Council, she ordered me to be relieved of all my charges, and the fees during my late restraint, and then gave me her royal hand to kiss, which I heartily did, thanking God for my deliverance.'—*MS. Autobiography of Richard, Earl of Cork*, quoted by Lodge, vol. i. p. 154.

dispatched a Roman Catholic agent on a secret mission to Ireland, 'to feel underhand,' as Wentworth says in a letter[1] to Cottington, 'the pulses of the Irish Catholics.' He was directed to inform them that Lord Cork was determined to urge on the revival of the Sunday fines (which had of late years been discontinued), and that the only way they could hope to escape the tax was by sending over agents to offer the King 20,000*l.* for six months, which when they did, Wentworth would prevent the imposition of the fines. It is extremely probable that Lord Cork was made acquainted by his own secret spies and friends (for he had such of both creeds in Ireland) with every move of Strafford's agent, and that he merely suggested the revival of the penal tax to stir up strife between the new Lord Deputy and the Catholics, and to make him believe that the subsidy could not be collected at all, or at least not until a Parliament was called, and the Graces passed into law. The Catholics hesitated to send a deputation to England, lest they might be cajoled to agree to large subsidies, and at length the King, to hasten matters, wrote a formal letter to the Lords Justices, threatening that if the money were not given, the Graces would be abridged and the fines levied on the recusants, 'according,' he was careful to add, 'to their Lordships' advice.' The Lords Justices were afraid to enter the royal letter on the Council books, lest if it were read by the Roman Catholics, a violent clamour would be raised against them.[2] Moreover, the threat of abridging the Graces terrified all parties and creeds in Ireland, and brought them once more with open purses to the King's feet. They consented to pay him 20,000*l.* in quarterly assessments for the next year, in addition to that 120,000*l.* they had already advanced upon the shadowy security of the promised Graces.

The first council summoned after Wentworth's arrival

[1] 'The instrument I employed is himself a Papist, and knows no other than that the resolution of the State here is set upon that course, and that I do this in private, and well wishing to divert the present storm, which else would fall heavy upon them all, being a thing framed and prosecuted by the Earl of Cork.'—Strafford's *Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 74.

[2] Leland, vol. iii. p. 9.

gave the ex-Lords Justices a foretaste of what was to come. He kept them and the few others he had summoned waiting for a considerable time; and when he appeared, after briefly explaining the necessity for the continuance of the subsidies to maintain a Protestant army, and giving the judges directions to make known during their approaching circuits the King's intention of issuing a Commission for the Remedying of Defective Titles, he dismissed the small assembly with scant courtesy. At their next meeting the Commission was read. Offered under the guise of a boon to the Irish landowner, and a highly beneficial measure to the whole country, it was really an ingenious device to increase the King's revenues, so as to make him less dependent on the supplies of English money, and also to bar all hopes of granting the first of the before-mentioned Graces, that which limited the Crown's title to sixty years.

The granting of this first Grace, much more the making it law, and the existence of the proposed Commission for Remedying Defective Titles, were in fact incompatible with one another. The Grace was to prohibit all inquiry into the King's title to lands which had been in the undisturbed possession of their owners for sixty years; the Commission authorised or directed an inquiry into the title of lands held from any date since the arrival of the English in 1172, and if the slightest flaw or breach of covenant or articles of plantation was discovered therein, the whole became vested in the Crown, and the owner, whether Catholic or Protestant, O' or Mac, De Burgh or FitzGerald, or Nugent or Denny,[1] or

[1] In 1639 Strafford compelled Sir Edward Denny to take out new letters-patent of the Kerry estate, granted to his grandfather for his gallant services against the Spaniards who invaded Ireland in 1579 and effected a landing near Dingle. The new letters-patent, which cost 500*l.*, also compelled Sir Edward to bring in on his estate eight new tenants of the British race, which of course involved the dispossession of as many Irish, whom he had never disturbed after the war was ended and a peace settled. It was those new tenants who suffered in 1641. The older Elizabethan tenants on the estate were almost all spared, and their descendants remain to this day. William Ambrose, a very small landowner (a Catholic) near Tralee, had also a new grant of his lands in 1639, on which his family had been settled for two or three hundred years at least. He forfeited in 1649.

Preston must consent to pay a considerable sum for new letters-patent, and also probably an increased Crown rent, as well as to plant his land more extensively with new English colonists, for whose accommodation some of the old tenants must be displaced. No class of Irish landowners, great or small, could hope to escape a squeezing under this new benevolent Commission for settling the perpetually unsettled island.[1] Nevertheless, as, like some Acts of the British Parliament in later times, it seemed to offer those landowners an indefeasible title, it was not unacceptable to a few of them.

But when it was placed before the board, as the first business of the hour, just after their promise of the 20,000*l.* for the ensuing year, a chill fell upon the assemblage. Lord Cork was silent, Lord Mountnorris and the Chancellor reserved, while Sir William Parsons took no pains to conceal his discontent. He expressed his opinion, says Wentworth,[2] writing to Secretary Coke, 'that it was very doubtful the Council could bind the kingdom to continue the subsidy for a year, but I told them that there was no necessity for the King to take them into council about that business at all, for that rather than fail in my duty towards his Majesty I would undertake to make the country support his army *at the peril of my head*'—the truest words perhaps he had spoken since his arrival in Dublin Castle. He then threw out some hopes of an approaching parliament, 'upon the very name of which,' he says, 'it was strange to see how their moods changed and how instantly they gave consent to my proposition with all possible cheerfulness.'

[1] A few days before he started for Ireland, Wentworth wrote to the King entreating him not to carry out an intended grant of concealed lands in Munster to Hay, Earl of Carlisle. 'Such a grant,' Wentworth writes, 'would impede all my hopes to advance your Majesty's revenue in Ireland upon the Commission for Defective Titles, which is one of the hopefullest fruits now left us to gather in for your Majesty's advantage.' He advises that, first, the inquisition be made and the defective title found, and then he adds: 'Your Majesty may after more evidently exercise your bounty, as seems best to your good pleasure.' The Crown and the courtier satisfied, no other thought needed to be taken.—Strafford's *Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 92.

[2] Leland, vol. iii. p. 13, and Strafford's *Correspondence*, vol. i. pp. 98, 99. The whole letter (to Coke) is very curious.

With that absolute blindness and deafness to the signs of the times in both islands, which characterised him, he never seems to have understood the real signification of this eagerness for a parliament, and how the word acted like a spell on the Anglo-Irish and English-born councillors he was endeavouring to cajole or coerce. He asks Coke, in his next letter, to praise the Chancellor Lords Cork, Ormond, and Mountnorris, and to say that 'the King will think of their desire for a parliament, and between this and Christmas give them a fair and gracious answer; for the very hope of a parliament,' he adds, 'will make them go on willingly with their payments.' Coke complied with this suggestion, and wrote that the 'King had the parliament in his intention.'

The history of Wentworth's rule in Ireland has been written by many able pens, but it is, after all, best studied in his own letters, of which a new edition is much wanted. He was an admirable letter-writer on every subject grave or gay, and his strength of will, power of influencing and controlling men of all ranks, and sarcastic wit, shine out in every letter, whether his correspondent be a Secretary of State, to whom he details Antrim's boastful promises and foolish projects for invading the Scottish isles, or a busy gatherer of court and society gossip like Garrard, to whom he comments on Lady Carlisle and Wat Montague and Jermyn; or Laud himself, to whom he relates his dealings with 'church cormorants.' But the only part of Wentworth's rule with which we are here concerned is that which related to the plantations and the Commission for Remedying Defective Titles. The 'fear' which Denny's diary noted as pervading the minds of 'manie men' from the hour of the Lord Deputy's arrival grew and spread not only in Leinster, Munster, and the wilds of Connaught, but amongst the Scotch settlers of Ulster, who naturally enough felt they had strong claims on the son of James the First. In October, Wentworth wrote to Coke that he had received a letter from the King touching his promise of a re-grant of lands in Ulster to Sir Archibald Acheson, upon his payment of certain fines and an increased rent, but that he (Wentworth) had stayed the re-grant as well as a request of

Sir Archibald's for 750*l.* due to him from the Crown, and also re-grants desired on the same terms by Sir John Hume, the Earl of Annandale, and others. Coke wrote in reply :—

> 'Sir Archibald Atcheson did press me much and often both in England and Scotland to move his Majesty for letters to your lordship, that his lands in Ulster might be re-granted upon a fine and doubled rent. The Earl of Annandale and others made the like instance, all grounding upon the general letters and instructions and the great service, pretended thereby. But for my part I never thought so, and by concurrence of your lordship's censure am fully satisfied that their purpose was indeed to settle their own estates, and to bar the Crown from the possibility of improving its revenue. And therefore I never gave furtherance to any such motions, but always informed his Majesty how prejudicial such letters would be to his service, as in particular I showed upon a petition preferred by the Lord Bourke, whereby, under colour of renewing his barony [1] and raising it to a viscountcy, he attempted to get a confirmation of that land which was in question between him and the Lord of Cahir before the Commissioners. And whereto Mr. Attorney showed plainly that neither of them had the right, the land being clearly escheated to his Majesty, and to be conferred by him on that pretender to it that offers most.'

This is a good exemplification of the real meaning of the Commission for Remedying Defective Titles. In innumerable cases it was merely used as a means of confiscating the land, and enabling the King to confer it upon the highest bidder. In all cases it was, as I have already said, designed to put an end to all hope of granting the Graces which limited the King's title to sixty years and checked plantations.

As the spring approached, Wentworth was busied with preparations for the promised parliament. Without the parliament he knew the continuation of the supplies was hardly to be expected, and yet, he equally well knew, the first thing sure to be moved for, when it met, was the confirmation of the two Graces which the King was determined not to

[1] Edmund Bourke, 5th Baron Bourke of Castleconnell, married Thomasine, daughter of Sir Thomas Brown, Knt. of Hospital. Their great-grandson, the 8th Baron, was attainted in 1691, and followed James II. into exile.

grant. As usual, he fell back on a policy of deception. Arrangements were made beforehand for dividing the parliament into two sessions, the first to be held in summer to settle the supplies for the King; the second to be held in winter for the consideration of the Graces. These arrangements were suggested by Wentworth, and approved of by Charles in the following words:—

> 'We well approve and require the making of two sessions as you propose. The first to be held in summer for our own supplies, and the second in winter, for passing such laws and Graces only as shall be allowed by us. But this intimation of two sessions we think not fit to be imparted to any till the parliament be set. And further, we will admit no capitulations, nor demands of any assurance under our Broad Seal, nor of sending over deputies or committees to treat with us, nor any restraint in our Bill of Subsidies, nor of any condition of not maintaining the army; but in case any of these be insisted on, and that they will not otherwise proceed or be satisfied with our royal promise for the second session, or shall deny or delay the passing of our Bills, we require you thereupon to dissolve the parliament, and forthwith to take order to continue the contributions for our army, and withal to proceed to such improvements of our revenue as are already in proposition, or may hereafter be thought of for the advantage of our crown.'[1]

Bold words, but Charles was not without inward misgivings. Five days later he wrote to Wentworth a private letter in which he says: 'As for that hydra (parliament) take heed, for you know that here I have found it cunning as well as malicious. It is true your grounds are well laid, and I assure you that I have great trust in your care and judgment, yet my opinion is that it will not be the worse for my service that their obstinacy make you to break them, for I fear that they have some ground to demand more than it is fit for me to give.' The ground 'well laid' by Wentworth was the managing by underhand ways to secure a House of Commons so equally composed of Protestants and recusant Catholics that the religious bigotry of one side might be excited against the other, and both might be wrought on for the benefit of the

[1] Strafford's *Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 184.

King's purse. He frightened the recusants with threats that, if the voluntary supplies were not forthcoming, the shilling Sunday tax would be levied; and he told the Protestants that, if they did not contribute, the King would be thrown on the bounty and goodwill of the recusants, and would in return be compelled to favour them to an extent that would injure the Protestant interest. He further took care that amongst the burgesses returned to the parliament there should be many military officers dependent on the Crown, who would at his bidding incline the political balance.

In the end, as might be expected in the face of a parliament composed of men more or less the tools of ecclesiastical factions, Wentworth beat down all the feeble opposition they could raise against him. He obtained six subsidies at the rate of four shillings in the pound on lands, and two shillings and eightpence out of every pound of goods and stock, each subsidy to amount to 45,000*l.*, the whole six to be paid within four years, and he took upon himself the burden and odium of refusing the most important of the long-coveted Graces. For this latter service the King was especially grateful, and his gratitude emboldened Wentworth to sue for what he had long desired to obtain, the titles of Earl and Viceroy.

It has been said that in the service of his master Wentworth was entirely free from personal ambition or interested motives, but his correspondence with Charles does not bear out this assertion of his admirers. The King had more than once to throw cold water on his favourite's eager aspirations after titles and high place. On October 23rd, 1634, Charles wrote the following letter from Hampton Court:—

> 'Wentworth,—Before I answer any of your private letters to me I must tell you that your last public dispatch has given me a great deal of contentment, and especially for the keeping of the envy of a necessary negative from me of those unreasonable Graces that that people (the Irish) expected from me, not in one particular dissenting from your opinion that is of moment, as I remember, but concerning the tallow, and that but *ad referendum* neither. Now I will begin concerning your suit, though last to come to my hands, and first for the form, that is to say, in coming to me, not only primarily but solely, without so much as acquainting

any one with it, the bearer being as ignorant as any. This I do not commend, but recommend to you to follow always hereafter, at least in what concerns your own particular. For to servants of your degree and quality and some degree under too, I allow of no mediators, though friends are commendable, for the dependence must come from me and to me. And as for the matter (of request) I desire you not to think that I am displeased with you for the asking, though at present I grant it not. For I acknowledge that noble minds are always accompanied with lawful ambitions. And be confident that your services have moved me more than it is possible for any eloquence or importunity to do. So that your letter was not the first proposer of my putting marks of favour on you, and I am certain that you will willingly stay my time, now you know my mind so freely, that I may do all things *a mi modo*, and so I rest—Your assured friend,

'CHARLES.'

The real motive of the King's reluctance to raise Wentworth to the Earldom and Viceroyalty then, probably was, lest it should be construed by the discontented Irish Parliament as a reward for his pressure on it in the matter of the subsidies and his haughty refusal of the Graces. Charles desired that his Lord Deputy should then, as to his life's end, be a scapegoat for his 'assured friend' and sovereign. He did not so sign himself with deliberate insincerity, but because he was from long habit, from education and by nature, 'so false he partly took himself for true.' The parliament was dissolved on April 18th, 1635.

The next business taken in hand by the Lord Deputy was the establishment in Dublin of the ecclesiastical tribunal, known as the High Commission Court. It was framed after the English model set forth by Laud, 'with the same formality,' says Leland, 'and the same tremendous powers.' This Court, equally hateful to the Roman Catholics and the Presbyterians, being established, Wentworth began his great project for subverting, according to the same judicious historian, 'the title to every estate in every part of Connaught,'[1] with a view to planting it extensively with new English colonists. A title to the whole province was found for the King under an

[1] Leland, vol. iii. p. 31.

ancient grant of Henry the Third to Richard de Burgh, whose heiress descendant was the ancestress of Edward the Fourth. The Court lawyers, who unearthed this long-buried Crown title, further found that all the patent-grants of lands made by Queen Elizabeth to the landowners of Connaught, and the indentures made by Sir John Perrot, her Deputy with the same, freeing them from uncertain cessings for soldiers, and other exactions, on their payment of fixed Crown rents and performance of certain military duties, were all voided by the non-performance of the conditions of the grants, or other flaws, and that even the later patent-grants made by James were equally worthless, as they had, it was alleged, been obtained by false pretences, and were not carried out as that king intended.

Wentworth went himself to Connaught to superintend or enforce the taking of the inquisitions.[1] Overawed by his presence, the jurors in Mayo, Sligo, and Roscommon found a title to each county for the King, without much hesitation. 'Howbeit,' Wentworth writes from Boyle on July 14th: 'There is much muttering we shall meet with opposition in the county of Galway, and as if the Earl of Clanricarde [2] and his servants were very averse from the plantation.' The Galway jurors refused to find the King's title. They were summoned before the Castle or Star Chamber in Dublin, and were compelled to pay a fine of 4,000*l.* each, and to acknowledge their fault on their knees. The Sheriff who had called them together was also obliged to pay a fine of a thousand pounds. Wentworth

[1] On July 13, 1635, he wrote to Cottington from the abbey of Boyle, in Roscommon: ''Tis true I am in a thing they call a progress, but yet in no great pleasure for all that. All the comfort I have is a little bonneyclabber; upon my faith, I am of opinion it would suit you above measure . . . . it is the bravest freshest drink you ever tasted. Your Spanish Don would, in the heats of Madrid, hang his nose and shake his beard an hour over every sup he took of it, and take it to be the drink of the Gods all the while.'—*Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 441. Bonneyclabber is milk left standing for the churn, mixed with sweet fresh milk—a delicious drink, not so common in Ireland as it was.

[2] Richard, 4th Earl of Clanricarde, was created Baron of Somerhill and Viscount Tunbridge in 1624, and Earl of St. Albans in 1634. He married the heiress, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, widow of Sir Philip Sidney, by whom he left a son and heir, Ulick, Marquis of Clanricarde, and two daughters—Lady Margaret, who married a younger son of the Earl of Ormond, and Lady Honora, who married the Marquis of Winchester.

wrote to the King that they had been encouraged to resistance by the Earl of Clanricarde's 'close and underhand dealings,' and by his nephew, 'Lord Clanmorrish,' who had boasted that if the inquisitions had begun in Galway, its example would have inspired Mayo, Sligo, and Roscommon to refuse the King's demands. The Earl, Wentworth said, wished to be a palatine ruler in Galway, and there could be no safety for the kingdom until the county was thoroughly planted with new English colonists.

Lord Clanricarde had great influence at Court, but he was an old man, and his mortification and anxiety, at seeing the troubles impending over the immense inheritance which had been in his family from almost the first year that the English invaders set foot in Ireland, proved too much for him. He died on November 12th at his English residence, Somerhill, in Kent; and Wentworth, writing to the King on the 5th of the following month, says: 'The last packet advertised the death of the Earl of St. Albans, and that it is reported my hard usage broke his heart; God and your Majesty know my innocency, they might as well have imputed to me his being three score and ten years of age; but their calumnies must not stay me humbly to offer to your Majesty's wisdom this fit opportunity that as that cantoned government of Galway began, so it may determine, in his Lordship's person.'[1]

The death of the Earl, or the influence of his son, however, stayed for the time the plantation of Galway. Through the influence of Lords Ormond and Thomond, the partial plantations of Clare and Upper and Lower Ormond were carried out successfully. The finding of the King's title to the O'Byrne lands in Wicklow brought in fifteen thousand pounds, the Commission for Remedying Defective Titles added larger sums from various parts of Ireland, and the City companies in Ulster were fined seventy thousand pounds for breaches of

[1] Strafford's *Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 444. 'The death of the Earl of Clanricarde and St. Albans enflamed the popular odium against the Lord Deputy. It was imputed to the vexation conceived by this nobleman at the attempts against his estate by an insolent governor who possessed himself of the Earl's house at Portumna, and in his hall held that court which impeached his title to his lands.'—Leland, vol. ii. p. 39.

their covenants and articles of plantation, and their lands declared forfeited to the Crown.[1] Wentworth advised that they should be formed into an appanage for the Duke of York, but that the tenants of the late owners should not be dispossessed, as they had paid large fines, and done much to improve their farms. The customs of the port of Derry were by the forfeiture vested in the Crown, and the Lord Deputy bought in all the leases, grants, and alienations that had been made by the Londoners, not without giving considerable offence to an influential lessee, the dowager Duchess of Buckingham, the wife of the Marquis of Antrim, who demanded a larger sum for her interest than Wentworth would consent to give. In the end she, like the rest, had to give way.

The new farming of the customs brought in large sums to the King, and some profits to the Lord Deputy. He also became a partner in the farming of the tobacco impost, and he imported flax seed from Holland, and brought weavers from France to improve the linen manufactures in Ulster. But the English and Irish weavers and planters complained that he hampered them with petty regulations and injudicious restrictions, carried out in an arbitrary fashion, so that his good intentions were to a great extent marred, and his unpopularity increased. Financially his government was a success, the King was enriched, the revenue cleared of debt, the army well clothed, disciplined, and paid, as it had never been before, the Channel pirates were restrained, and a substantial balance remained in the treasury.[2] But from the Giant's Causeway to Cape Clear the island was like a volcano on the eve of an eruption; and Wentworth had not a dozen friends left in the Council and the country. The Presbyterians and the Roman Catholics were infuriated by the High Commission Court, the natives and the old Anglo-Irish by the plantations, the Elizabethan and later English colonists by the Lord Deputy's arbitrary and despotic tone, and, it must be admitted, by his

[1] Carte, vol. i. pp. 166, 167. Mr. Gardner, in his *Fall of the Monarchy*, says the Londoners' fine was remitted, excepting 12,000*l.*

[2] Carte, vol. i. pp. 167, 169; Leland, vol. ii. pp. 40, 41; Reid, vol. i. p. 144; Froude's *English in Ireland*, vol. i. p. 80; Lecky, vol. ii. p. 111.

opposition to jobbing and the fleecing of their tenants by great men. Lord Mountnorris and Sir Pierce Crosby, and with greater reason Loftus, were his open and bitter opponents, while Lord Cork's cautiously veiled hatred was as deep-rooted and determinedly vindictive as that of Pym himself.

In July 1638 Charles wrote to Wentworth a letter in favour of the Earl of Antrim's project for invading, or threatening to invade, the Earl of Argyle's territory, so as to hold the Scotch Covenanters in check, and recommending that he (Antrim) should be supplied with arms, which he wished to place in a magazine of his own at Coleraine. But the project, or at least the projector, was highly distasteful to Wentworth, who wrote to the King that he dared not even communicate such a proposal as that for the magazine to the Irish Council, for 'I am sure,' he adds, 'they would never consent that such strength should be entrusted to the grandson of the Earl of Tyrone; and for myself, I hold it unsafe that any such store of arms should lie so near the great Scottish plantations in those parts, lest if their countrymen grow troublesome, and they partake of the contagion, they might chance to borrow those weapons of his lordship for a longer time and another purpose than he would have cause to thank them for. They are shrewd children, and not much won by courtship, especially from a Roman Catholic.'[1]

Reid, commenting on this application of Antrim's, asks: 'Can it have had any prospective connection with the rebellion which broke out three years after, in which the Earl acted so conspicuous a part?' There can be little or no doubt that it had, although the hidden links of the connection cannot at the present day be fully discovered. Antrim was no friend at heart to Wentworth—it would be difficult to say to whom the shifty and treacherous Earl was a true friend—and Wentworth regarded him with contempt and the profoundest mistrust. But the King, urged on by the Queen and her Roman Catholic counsellors, open or concealed, pressed Wentworth to favour their Roman Catholic favourite, and his marriage with Buckingham's widow increased his Court

[1] Strafford's *Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 187.

influence. When the Scotch insurrection began, while Wentworth was forcing on the Ulster Presbyterians, women as well as men, the 'black oath,' as it was called, binding them to renounce all sympathy with their co-religionists in Scotland, he received another letter from Charles, directing him to receive new propositions from Antrim, and this he was compelled to do, although resolved not to entertain them. The eighteen propositions, and the names of the commanders Antrim proposed to arm and employ in the maintenance of the English Government in Ulster, will be found in the second volume of Strafford's 'Correspondence.' The chief of those commanders were Lord Magenis, Lord Maguire, Phelim O'Neil, Hugh McMahon, and Art Oge O'Neil, and as they were all chief rebels in 1641, their selection throws a good light on Antrim's projects.

Wentworth's letter to Windebank detailing his interviews with Antrim, are, as his biographer, Miss Cooper, observes, masterpieces of sarcastic humour and irony. 'He (Antrim) told me,' writes the Lord Deputy to the Secretary on March 20th, 1638, 'that instantly upon the receipt of his Majesty's letter he had sent off to the O'Neiles, the O'Haras, the O'Lurgans (if I mistake not the name), the MacGennisses, the MacGuires, the MacMahons, the MacDonnells (as many O's and Macs in short as would startle a whole council board at this side only to hear talked of), and all the rest of his friends, requiring them in his Majesty's name to meet him with all their forces; so that this business is now become no secret, but the common discourse of his lordship and the whole kingdom.' It may be imagined what the 'discourse' of the Ulster Presbyterians would have been, on hearing of all the O's and Macs, who were to be let loose upon them under the Catholic Earl. Wentworth, coming to practical points, however, proceeds:—

> 'I desired next to know what provision of victual his lordship had thought of, which for so great a number of men would require a great sum of money. His lordship told me he had not made any at all, in regard he conceived that they should find sufficient in the enemy's country to sustain them; but his lord-

ship proposed to transport over with him ten thousand live cows to furnish his troops with milk, which he affirmed had been his grandfather's (Tyrone's) play. I told his lordship that seemed to me a great adventure to put himself and friends upon, for in case, as was most likely, the Earl of Argyle should draw all the cattle and corn of his country into places of strength, and lay the remainder waste, how could he (Antrim) in so bare a country feed either his men, his horses, or his cows? And then I besought him to foresee, what a misery and dishonour it would be for him to engage his friends where they could not fight, but must starve. To that his lordship replied, they would do well enough, feed their horses with leaves of trees, and themselves with shamrocks. To this I craved leave to inform his lordship, I had heard there were no trees in the isles, but if trees as yet at least no leaves, so there was no pressing haste to transport his army, for that the season of the year would yet give him one or two months of consideration in that respect. . . . His lordship said he did not intend to make a formal war of it . . . besides that all those islanders "did so adore him" (his very word) that once he landed, he was well assured all would fight for him, none against him, and that rather than not go, he would go upon the isles with three hundred, and with that number do more than another could do with twenty thousand. I told him if that were so, it was a very sure business, nor would there be need of any of those great and troublesome preparations, but my doubt was that the Earl of Argyle would not so easily quit possession. . . . His lordship said the Islesmen hated the Earl of Argyle, and that he had not in all those isles above two hundred pounds of his own inheritance. Which raiseth a new doubt with me at least, for the Earl of Argyle we know indeed, but those other proprietors in the isles, whether Covenanters or no, is a *non liquet* here, and I am confident it is his Majesty's purpose not to have the Earl of Antrim trouble himself to conquer those, that for aught I know are very good subjects already; though perchance they should possess those lands which this lord pretends belonged to his ancestors (methought he said) thirteen hundred years ago.' [1]

Wentworth was convinced that Antrim had neither ability, nor money, nor credit, to raise an army at all, but that his sole object was to obtain from the Government money and arms for his clan, to make a raid on the Campbells, in which he, notwithstanding his vain boastings, would be worsted, after

[1] Strafford's *Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 302.

doing enormous mischief to the King's cause, in both islands. Besides, he added again, that the Irish Council would never consent to trust with unlimited supplies of money and arms (if they had them to give) the 'grandson of Tyrone and old Randy MacDonnell.' He also complained that the MacDonnells of the Isles had committed brutal crimes in Down, taking away by force a young lady (the daughter of a merchant in that county) from her home into Scotland to compel her to marry one of them. Those men Antrim now proposed to enrol in his troops, but Wentworth utterly refused to allow them to come into Ireland.[1] His insight into Antrim's character was quickened by dislike of the Earl's religion, and jealousy of his favour with the King and Queen; but Wentworth failed to see that Windebank, to whom he wrote his opinions so freely, was a Roman Catholic in heart and even less to be trusted than Antrim. It is probable that every line which Wentworth wrote about Antrim was shown to him by the secretary, or at least its import told him.[2]

In September 1639, on the break-up of the King's hollow peace with the Scotch, Wentworth was summoned to England and was soon after created Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and a Knight of the Garter. During his absence from Dublin, his relative, Sir Christopher Wandesford, acted as Lord Justice. The want of money to maintain troops in both islands to crush the Presbyterians, compelled the King once more to have recourse to parliaments. It was decided

[1] 'The Earl of Antrim himself told us at this Council Board that he intended to send into Spain for some of the Irish regiments there, which we disallowed of, in regard they had spent most of their lives in the King of Spain's service, and if they returned hither might become the occasion of great disorders. And his lordship spared not at this board to move me, the Deputy, to grant his Majesty's pardon to two persons to be employed as commanders in this expedition, who, for a most bloody murder and cruel rape barbarously committed in the north of Ireland, even so lately as since I, the Deputy, entered into this government, escaped hence and are now, it seems, in Flanders, which pardon I confess I denied to grant.'—*Lord Deputy and Council to Sir Henry Vane*, June 4, 1639.

[2] Windebank had been made Secretary of State through the influence of Laud in 1632. Having been accused of protecting and releasing from prison several Jesuits and friars, he fled to France in December 1640.—Prynne's *Breviate of the Life of Laud*, pp. 124–143, 147, and *Her Majesty's Tower*, vol. iii. p. 355; Brodie, vol. ii. p. 254.

to call one in Dublin on March 16th, and at Westminster on the 13th of the following month. The King demanded from the Irish Parliament six subsidies, and they might have been granted but that Strafford was detained at Chester, on his way to Dublin, by a fit of the gout. He arrived at the Castle on March 18th, before which time the Council had decided to limit the supply to four subsidies, on the plausible ground that if six were granted, that being the number laid on the people in the last Parliament, they might fear that such a charge would be in future 'unchangeably and continuously laid on them.' The Council represented that they therefore judged it best to grant but four subsidies for the present, with an engagement from the parliament that more should be given hereafter 'should the occasions of his Majesty require it.' Strafford consented to this arrangement, and on March 23rd wrote to the King as follows:—

> 'Now this very evening the supply was propounded in the Commons House, and four subsidies assented to, with all possible cheerfulness, together with a declaration that they will further supply your Majesty with their estates and fortunes to the very uttermost; desiring that this their declaration may be printed together with the Bill for their subsidies. This I take to be of more advantage to your Majesty in itself and in the consequence than the grant of six subsidies would have been, and amongst other reasons which may convince it to be so, I dare undertake (as little beloved as some will have me to be by this people) that if your Majesty would, it will be in my power to persuade them after Easter to give you four subsidies more, payable the next two years after the former levied. In one word, your Majesty may have with their free good-wills as much as this people can possibly raise. Next, your Majesty may as safely account yourself master of their lives and fortunes, as the best of kings can promise to find amongst the best of subjects; and that if those in England comply with the like alacrity you will be at the end of the war before it begins.'

The Commons tacked on to the preamble to the Bill of subsidies a long encomium on Strafford, and the King's goodness in sending them 'so just, wise, and profitable a governor;' and not satisfied with this, Lords and Commons drew up a

long declaration of their willingness to grant further supplies to aid his Majesty 'against the Covenanters of Scotland,' though they were in doing so 'to leave themselves nothing but hoses and doublets.' Strafford took all those professions for truth. His despatches to the King and Windebank up to the last which he wrote from Dublin Castle, on Good Friday, 1640, are jubilant with triumph and pride over the deep love which he imagined the Irish entertained for him, and the exposure of the calumnies of his enemies, who had represented him to the English as an 'unpopular Vizier, Bashaw, or anything else that might be worse.'

He left Ireland, for a time as he purposed, but for ever, as the event proved, on April 4th, 1640, and at Chester was again laid up with a violent attack of gout, so that he was obliged to have his letters from thence written by a secretary, an unusual thing with him. On April 10th, he was so far recovered, as to be able to write once more with his own hand, to Windebank, a long letter, in which he says[1]:—

> 'I cannot but observe how cautious still your great friend my Lord of St. Albans is, lest he might seem to express his affections towards the King with too much frankness and confidence. Lord! how willing he is, by doing something as good as nothing, to let you see how well contented he would be to disserve the Crown, if it were in his power, as indeed it is not. But if his good lordship and his fellows were left to my handling, I should quickly teach them better duties, and put them out of liking with their perverse, froward humours. . . . The Lord Roche is a person in a lesser volume, of the very self-same edition; poor soul! you see what he would be at, if he knew how. But seriously, let me ask you a question. What would these and such like gentlemen do, were they absolute in themselves, when they are thus forward, at that very instant of time, when their estates are justly and fairly at the King's mercy. In a word, until I see punishments and rewards well and roundly applied, I fear very much the frowardness of this generation will not be reduced to moderation and right reason.'

Strafford and his master were like somnambulists, living in a kind of waking dream, all unconscious of what was going

[1] Strafford's *Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 404.

on in the real life of both islands. In this letter the former adds, apparently in reply to a suggestion made by Windebank, that if any of the laws transmitted from Ireland appear objectionable to Charles, Sir George Radcliffe, the Chancellor and the Chief Justice, will send over explanations or alterations of them, but that as to sending over agents from Dublin it was a thing never done, and that the settlement of the Byrnes' lands in Wicklow will yield the Crown 2,000*l.* yearly. From a former letter of his, it appears that those lands were let by him in fee farm for that sum to Sir Robert Meredith and Sir Philip Perceval, but this was either in trust for himself, or he retained part of them in his own hands, for Radcliffe, writing to him on October 28th, 1640,[1] says: 'We have put your lands in the Byrnes, Cosha, Shillelagh, and Kildare, into good order and shall go on with the rest. I hope to have fair rentals of all entered into the book.'[2]

Everything in Strafford's letter to Windebank relating to St. Albans and Roche was probably (like the letters about Lord Antrim) communicated by the secretary to his English and Irish co-religionists, and it is easy to conceive how deeply it would irritate the latter. At the same time that Strafford was thus haughtily showing the Irish Catholics that their late generous offers and servile professions would not procure for them a single concession, much less the long coveted 'Graces,' he drew up and sent to Sir George Radcliffe in Dublin, his astounding, and, as Reid well calls it, 'nefarious

[1] *Life and Correspondence of Sir George Radcliffe*, pp. 190, 192, 211.

[2] In several of his letters Wentworth expresses his admiration of the county Wicklow—'the finest mountain country,' he says, 'I ever saw.' He built a hunting lodge in Cosha, and hopes that the King will one day come there in a 'progress or hunting journey.'—*Correspondence*, vol. ii. pp. 60, 106. The happiest days of his life in Ireland were those spent in Wicklow in the summers of 1637–8, as appears from his letters to Laud. His Connaught progress was more a trouble than a pleasure, but in Wicklow the cares of state were laid aside. On May 23d he writes from Cosha to the Archbishop: 'At present I am playing the Robin Hood, and here in the country of woods and mountains hunting and chasing all the outlying deer I can light on; but to confess truly, I met with a very shrewd rebuke the other day, for, standing to get a shot at a buck, I was so damnably bitten with midges, as that my face is all mezled over since, it itches still as if it were mad. I never felt or saw such midges in England.'—*Ibid.* p. 173. He dates some of his letters from the '*Park of Parks, Cosha.*'

project,' for transporting all the Scotch colonists of Ulster, except a very few of the Episcopalian royalists, back to Scotland, thus uprooting the whole plantation made by James the First.[1] The strangest part of this wild and incoherent document is the passage which shows that Strafford, when he penned it, understood the temper of the Scotch Presbyterians as well as King James himself did, when he explained to Archbishop Williams his reasons for not promoting Laud: 'He knows not,' said James, who, with all his weakness, had more of his mother's intellect than his son had, 'the stomach of that people, but I ken the story of my grandmother the Queen Regent, that after she was inveigled to break her promise made to some mutineers of them at a Perth meeting, she never saw a good day, but from thence being much beloved was despised of all in Scotland.' Strafford, combating the objections which might be expected to be urged against his project, that the Ulster Scots had not been convicted of rebellion, that some of them had taken the 'Black Oath,' and that it would be a hard case to banish so many people on mere suspicion, leaving the greater part of Ulster untenanted, wrote:—

> 'To this I answer that many thousands of them never took the oath, and as I certainly hear, they now publickly avouch it to be an unlawful oath, and for aught I see they will shortly return, to any that dares question them, such an answer as Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, made to Sir John Comyn, who charging him with breach of oath taken at Westminster to King Edward, replied by cleaving Sir John's head in two.'

He adds: 'What commonwealth will not give way that a few landlords, for they are but a few, should receive some small prejudice where the public safety and certain peace of the whole is concerned?'

The 'many thousands' in the former passage becoming 'a few landlords' in the latter betrays such confusion of thought and blindness to facts that one knows not what to

[1] 'Had this nefarious project succeeded, it would not only have overturned the foundations on which the Presbyterian Church chiefly rested in Ireland, but it must have terminated in the ruin of Protestantism and the desolation of the northern province.'—Reid, vol. i. p. 260.

think of this strange document.[1] Radcliffe discreetly drew his pen across the whole, and endorsed it with these words: '*Proposition, Scots, crossed out by me and rejected.*' It is doubtful that he ever ventured to lay it before the Council, but very certain that, in one way or another, its contents were soon known to the Puritans and Presbyterians like Sir John Clotworthy and his brother at Moneymore.

This, and Windebank's revelations to St. Albans and other Roman Catholics, had, no doubt, much to do with that sudden alteration in the temper of the Irish Parliament, which seemed so unaccountable to Carte. It had been prorogued three days before the departure of Strafford, and did not meet again until June. By that time the Protestant members, officers of the army, on whom Strafford had relied to balance parties in his favour, were drawn off to command the newly raised troops of seven thousand men, mostly Roman Catholics, who were to rendezvous at Carrickfergus in July. The supreme command of these, and of the thousand men of the old army who were Protestants, was given to Ormond, and the Sergeant-Major-General was Sir William St. Leger, Lord President of Munster, a commander likely to be very unpopular with the Catholic soldiers, as he was a strong opponent of their Church, and the son of that Sir Warham St. Leger who had hanged James FitzGerald of Desmond and killed Hugh Maguire, Lord of Fermanagh, in 1599.

With a large majority in the army and in the parliament, the Irish Roman Catholics were naturally emboldened to press their grievances on the Lord Deputy's attention. The Commons presented him with a remonstrance against the exactions of the ecclesiastical Courts, and the clergy of the Established Church for christening, marriage fees, &c., and they appointed a Committee to consider the best manner of assessing the promised subsidies. They drew up a declara-

[1] 'Strafford's enemies, about the time he drew up this project, spread a report that his reason was affected, and that he had been mad for some months in his earlier life. See his angry letter on those reports.'—*Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 253. Suppressed gout in the system rendered him very irritable at times.

tion that, after the first subsidy had been levied, it was the will and pleasure of the parliament that the rest should be assessed 'in an easy parliamentary and moderate way' on each man, according to his estate. The declaration was entered on the journals of the House, and the Lords were asked to join in it and to enter it amongst their ordinances, but they referred the matter to the Chief Justices, who decided that they could not so enter it. The Lord Deputy, weary of these oppositions, prorogued the parliament until October, when it met in a still more discontented mood. On October 20th, the Commons resolved that no one should be taxed for the subsidies beyond the tenth of his real or personal estate; at the same time offering to pay with the second subsidy on December 1st, 1640, that which would not fall due until June 1st, 1641. This was the most they would consent to, and the King was so highly incensed that he ordered the leaf on which the resolution was written to be torn out of the journals of the House, which was done in presence of several of the members.[1]

This ebullition of impotent wrath availed but little. The Irish Houses decided to send a committee and two agents to lay before the King a long list of their grievances, and of charges against Strafford; and, to forestall any attempt to dissolve the parliament, they pressed that it might be continued, or that if it were dissolved a new one might be immediately summoned with power to receive the complaints of his Majesty's Irish subjects.

It would be impossible to give in these pages even an outline of all the grievances which swelled the long remonstrance which the committee appointed by the House of Commons carried over to lay before the King. The chiefest were the increase of monopolies injuring Irish trade, the hearing of civil causes at the Council Board which ought to have been brought before the Courts of law; the delay to the granting of the Graces, designed to prevent plantations and limit inquisitions into the titles of landowners; and the oppressions and exactions of the courts and clergy of the Estab-

[1] Leland, vol. ii. p. 55. Carte, vol. i. p. 203.

lished Church. Enough has been already said of the two important Graces, so long promised and so shamelessly refused, but the last-mentioned grievance of the Established Church Courts and exactions calls for equal notice, inasmuch as it had quite as great a share in bringing about the rebellion and massacres, as had the unwise extension of plantations.

While Chichester was labouring, in 1614, to pacify the discontented Catholic Irish of Ulster, by allowing them as large a share of the planted land, either as chief owners or lessees, as the conquered clans could in that age expect to be allowed, complaints poured in upon him from Sir Henry O'Neil, and many others, of the oppressive and novel manner of tithing adopted by the few resident and many pluralist absentee rectors and vicars of the Established Church. The poorer people of the province, English, Irish, and Scotch, were almost wholly dependent for food on the scanty supply of oatmeal that the half-reclaimed land afforded, and on the milk of their cows. Money was very scarce, and the clergy and their bailiffs insisted that a large portion of the tithes should be paid in milk. The mass of the people had no alternative but to refuse this demand or to starve. Chichester, seeing this, ordered that for the present the tithe milk should not be exacted, but that the clergy should be content with the ample provision already made for them, until churches, rectory houses, and schools had been erected and some real work done. The Bishops and clergy complained to the King that the Lord Deputy was injuring the Church, and he was compelled, in self-defence, to write to the Privy Council. He represented firmly but temperately that 'the clergy were for the most part non-resident, that there were few churches in repair, and no rectory houses; neither,' he says, 'do the clergy endeavour to build any, yet nevertheless intending still to make their profits most amongst the Irish, who first felt and complained of this new tithing, they did farm the tithe milk unto certain kern, bailiffs errant and such extortionate people, who either by immoderate avarice, or malice infused, did exact and take away the same rudely, to the

extreme displeasure of the poor people, whose daily food and blood it is, and with like envy (disadvantage) to the minister of the Gospel and his profession.' He adds that when he first heard of these 'violent courses,' he thought it very doubtful whether 'that manner of tithing, before the people were persuaded to conformity, could be fitly called a planting of religion, and an advancement of the Protestant Church,' and that already a clergyman and a bailiff had been murdered, attempting to carry it out.[1]

In 1614 not one in five hundred of the poorer Irish of Ulster could understand or speak a word of English, the only language in which their new teachers (?) could address them. In truth they did not attempt to address them at all, save through their tithe collectors with harsh demands for the milk, which was the poor people's 'daily food and blood.'

Here and there an undertaker like Thomas Blennerhassett and Sir James Belford in Fermanagh had, according to Pinnar's survey taken in 1619, 'begun' a church or 'laid out a plot' for one, but over vast parishes in Ulster the ruins of such Roman Catholic churches as had not been spared to turn them into stables or barns, were all that remained to show that any form of Episcopalian Christianity had ever existed there. Nor did matters improve in the Establishment as years went on. In 1628, Sir John Bingley, in a curious and interesting paper, which he drew up for the Government, detailing the rapid revival of Roman Catholicism all over Ireland, says: 'In very deed our Protestant bishops and ministers are very unwise, the greater number of them are profane and drunken fellows' even in Dublin, and the 'ministers in the country do exact of their parishioners more fees and duties than are ever taken in England, which is a great scandal.'

A Discourse upon the State of Ulster, which is among the Carte MSS. in the Bodleian Library, and is hereafter printed for the first time, gives a truly sad picture of Ulster between 1629 and 1634.[2] Numbers of the Irish, notwithstanding all

[1] *v.* Appendix M., for the whole letter, which is well worth reading.
[2] *v.* Appendix L.

the measures taken by the King to prevent it, were still tenants-at-will, subject to the old cosherings and cuttings in addition to money rents, under such of their own chiefs as had lands in the plantation, and also under the City companies, the undertakers, and the bishops. The added pressure of conformity to Protestantism and increased tithes and fees for the support of it, expected from the Irish tenants on the bishops' lands, made them move off to the lands of the English and Scotch undertakers, where it was illegal for them to remain. So long as they could pay a higher rent than the English tenant, the undertakers welcomed them, and when they failed to do so, or Commissioners came to inspect the land, they were compelled to move off once more. 'Pared to the bone,' as the Englishman Mr. Froude says, 'flayed alive,' as the Irishman Mr. H. P. Hore as truly puts it, by every species of exaction, the unfortunate tillers of the soil were thrown back upon and confirmed in those nomad habits which it had been the professed object of the plantation to wean them from. They fled with their lean cattle to the mountains and woods, from the tithe collectors, just as their fathers and grandfathers had fled from the rent collectors of the O'Neil and the O'Donnell. But in the latter case the ties of blood and creed, always so powerful in Ireland, to some extent at least, softened the mutual wrath of oppressor and oppressed. And then a mediator was always at hand (as we have seen him in full force in the house of Brian Crossagh O'Neil in 1614) in the person of the wandering friar from Spain or Italy, with his bottle of 'extraordinary good aqua vitæ' who felt that the best chance of getting back the 110,000*l.* a year his Church had lost in Ireland lay in the union of the chief and clansman against the heretic intruders. Yet, if the poor Irishman had known it, his bondage under the latter was less hopeless and injurious than his old bondage to chief and priest, which kept him a willing serf, one of the mere

> 'Human dice for whom in games of battle
> The Lords of earth compete.'

The improvement of the Established Church on Laudian

principles was as dear to Wentworth's heart as the extension of plantations. Both formed part of his grand scheme for making the King 'as absolute,' he says, 'as a sovereign could be.' Unfortunately for his success, the one project counteracted the other. When the plantation came to be laid out, the land was there, but the plants he looked for to set in it were wanting. There was no lack of rich and noble absentees, desirous of large grants in Connaught, Leinster, and Munster, on which they never intended to reside; but colonists of the right stamp, English and Scotch farmers, hardworking, peaceable and thrifty, were not to be had, as the Lord Deputy complained in his letters to Laud. The Archbishop of Canterbury sympathised with his friend, and wondered how men could be so foolish and ungrateful to their joint paternal government. He wrote from Lambeth on May 14th, 1638:—

> 'The plantations of Ormond and Clare are a marvellous great work for the honour and profit of the King, and safety of that kingdom, and you have done very nobly to follow that business so close; but I am sorry to read in your letters that you want men extremely, to fill that work, and this is the more considerable a great deal, that you should want men in Ireland, and that all the while there should be here such an universal running to New England, and God knows whither, but so it is, when men think nothing is their advantage, but to run from government.'

Laud's waking dreams did not permit him, any more than Wentworth, to see that what was necessary was for men to learn for themselves the secret of self-government, that they could not be governed successfully otherwise, or by any set of rules applied by force external to themselves.[1] Under the first Stuart King, Irish Episcopalian Protestantism had been a huge political machine; under his successor it had become, without renouncing its politico-religionism, what Perronet called it in later days 'Rome's ape without her name.' Nevertheless, Wentworth, Laud, and Bramhall deserve credit for

[1] 'Scotland has ever shown itself to be possessed of the most indispensable quality of a hardy vigorous people, the determination to be itself, and not what external force might desire to make it.'—*Fall of the Monarchy*, by S. Rawson Gardiner, p. 134.

rescuing from desecration not a few churches, which had been turned, even in Dublin, into stables, tennis courts, and taverns. This is the best that can be said for their rule in Irish Church affairs. 'It is hard to say,' writes Bramhall to Laud from Dublin in 1633, 'whether the churches be more ruinous or sordid, or the people more irreverent. Even in Dublin we found one parochial church converted into the Lord Deputy's stable, a second to a nobleman's dwelling house, the choir of a third into a tennis court, with the vicar for keeper. One bishop in the remoter part of the kingdom holds three and twenty benefices; seldom any suitor petitions for less than three vicarages at a time.'

The necessity for this petition is explained in a letter from Laud to Wentworth a year later. 'Indeed, my lord,' he writes, 'I knew the state of that Church was very bad, but that it was so stark naught I did not believe: six benefices not able to keep the minister in clothes! In six parishes not six come to church! Good God! stay the time (*i.e.* have patience) you must till there be some more conformable people: on with your endeavours for moneys given to charitable uses, for righting the Crown in patronage, for entering the benefices in the first-fruit office. Do all your judgment leads you to upon the place, and where six parishes will not find the minister clothes, the King's first-fruits will buy no lace. And while you prohibit arts to be taught in the country, God send you art enough to get back your money from the friars! But I doubt it much.'[1]

The fate of the Protestant Episcopalian Church in Ireland had passed beyond the region of fears and doubts when Laud wrote this. As a missionary Church it was an utter failure. He might build churches and 'restore' cathedrals, in which, as Canon Kingsley somewhere says of similar buildings in England, the English Church liturgy sounded like the 'rattle of a shrivelled kernel in its shell,' but the people would not enter them, save in one small diocese—that of Kilmore in Cavan, presided over by the saintly Bedell. In the whole line of Ulster Protestant bishops between 1604 and 1641 he alone

[1] Strafford's *Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 253. *Life of Bramhall*, p. 145.

was really fitted for his high task. It was not that the rest were by any means exceptionally unworthy men. On the contrary, some of them were prelates, whose blameless lives and learning would have made them, like their celebrated Archbishop, the amiable and learned Usher, highly useful in England. But in Ireland they were worse than useless. Even Usher and Bedell were well nigh powerless in their State trammels. One of the darling objects of Bedell's life was the translation of the Scriptures into Irish, that it might be circulated among the people; but in this as in other important matters he was hindered, in fact utterly foiled by the opposition of the secular power,[1] which was then the more or less conscious tool of Jesuitism. Mr. King, an exemplary clergyman whom Bedell had employed to make the translation, was bitterly persecuted, deprived of his benefice, which was given to a discreditable pluralist, and all the appeals which Bedell made on behalf of his friend were disregarded by Usher, who could not contend with Wentworth.

A real missionary Church, with bishops like Bedell, and resident clergy of self-denying and blameless lives, understanding and speaking the tongue of the Irish people, supported entirely by funds from England, asking nothing from the Irish but to be permitted to labour amongst them for their souls' sakes, and preaching fearlessly against the oppressions and rackrents alike of the covetous undertaker and the native chief, as Latimer preached against the covetousness of the courtiers and landlords of Edward the Sixth's reign, would have made the western Gael as devout Protestants as the eastern Gael of Scotland, or as their kindred in Wales and Cornwall. In Bedell's first letter to Laud in 1630 he tells the Archbishop that the parish churches in Kilmore diocese are all in ruins, that the people are beggared by the exactions of the friars, and the Anglican and Roman clergy, and by the contributions they must give for the support of the soldiers. He notices also the oppressions of 'our ecclesiastical courts, which in very truth, my lord,' he adds, 'I cannot excuse and do seek to reform. There are seven or eight ministers in each

[1] *Life of Bedell*, p. 95.

diocese of good sufficiency, but, which is no small cause of the continuance of the people in Popery, all Englishmen, who have not the tongue of the people, nor can perform any Divine office in Irish nor converse in it, and these hold many of them two, three, four, or more vicarages apiece.'

He absolutely refused to appoint any ministers to the country parishes who were not well versed in the Irish tongue and men of exemplary life. Of a Mr. Brady, who came to him seeking a benefice, furnished with letters of recommendation from Lord Cork and Sir William Parsons, he wrote to the Primate: 'On examining him, I found him a very raw divine, and unable to read Irish, and therefore I excused myself to these lords for not admitting him.'

In a letter of a later date he relates the bitter and malicious opposition he met with from the Dean of Kilmore, who wished to retain a plurality of benefices, to one of which Bedell desired to appoint a converted friar of the native race, named O'Crean. 'There is no lack of fitting men,' he writes to Usher, 'for besides Mr. Crean, whom Dr. Sheridan hath heard preach as a friar in that very place, in which I now account it would be for God's glory he should plant the truth, where before he endeavoured to root it out; besides him we have Mr. Nugent and sundry in the College, two trained up at the Irish lecture, one of whom hath translated your Grace's catechism into Irish, and we have Mr. Duncan and others; with what colour, then, can we pass by these and suffer Mr. Dean to fatten himself with the blood of God's people?'[1]

Of the many converts he made among the Irish only one fell away from the truth in the terrible year of the rebellion and massacres. The Reverend Denis Sheridan, a favourite Irish convert of his, was so respected by his Roman Catholic countrymen that he and his family remained unharmed in 1641–9, and were able to give a temporary shelter to a few English Protestant neighbours in Cavan. But Bedell, like all men of his stamp in all times, had many bitter enemies, some of the bitterest of whom were professing Protestants of the well-to-do and higher classes. Undertakers and officials who

[1] *Bedell's Life*, by Burnet.

had, like Mr. Bye-Ends in glorious John's immortal allegory, 'got most of their estates by looking one way and rowing another'—their sons eager to ape fashionable courtiers who had gone over to Rome, traders always most zealous for religion when he 'is in his silken slippers'—all set upon the man whose life was a reproach to them. He says in his letters that they spoke of him to the Primate as a 'Papist,' an 'Arminian,' a 'double dealer,' a 'niggard,' and an 'usurer.' He drew on himself a haughty rebuke from Wentworth for his mild but earnest remonstrance against the oppressive and irregular way in which a Roman Catholic sheriff quartered the soldiers upon the poorer Protestants. At the same time he advised that the Sunday shilling tax should not be imposed upon the Roman Catholics, but that more Protestant churches should be built, and zealous Irish-speaking ministers appointed to instruct the poor people, and bring them by persuasion and gentle means to listen to the truth.

From first to last the poor of both Churches loved and respected Bedell. 'The common people heard him gladly.' Here and there even Roman Catholic priests in Ulster openly expressed the same feelings towards him, although they well knew how uncompromising an opponent of their Church he never ceased to be. In truth, Bedell was not a Churchman at all, in the sense that word was and is understood by the majority. 'Christianity,' as a great writer has said, 'comprehends the Churches, but is not comprehended by them,' and Bedell was a Christian missionary in the fullest, deepest, and truest sense of the words, just as some of the early ministers of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland were so.[1] This was the secret of the influence he exercised in life and death over the

[1] His son-in-law Clogy tells us that 'the Bishop often preached in his episcopal habit, but not always, and used it seldom in the afternoon; nor did he,' adds the biographer, 'love the pomp of a choir, nor instrumental music, which he thought filled the ear with too much pleasure, and carried away the mind from serious attention to the matter. And when another bishop justified those things, because they served much, he said, to raise the affections, Bedell answered that, in order to the raising of the affections, those things that tended to edification only ought to be used, as otherwise it would be hard to make stops, and on such pretence an infinity of rites might be brought in. And the sense he had of the excess of superstition from what he had observed during his long stay in Italy,

fierce, ignorant, misguided tribes of Ulster in 1641. In his humility, his simplicity of life, his piety, his Christ-like charity, his painful study of the Irish language for their souls' sakes, his intercessions with their rulers and task-masters, they recognised in a confused way something akin to the Kieran and Patrick, who, as their old legends told them, had brought Christianity to Pagan Ireland; and, reputed heretic as he was, they refrained from harming him while he lived, and when he died they did not refuse to him, as they did to almost every other Englishman, a grave in their churchyard, but mingled with the half-triumphant, half-mournful volleys they fired over it, the strange prayer, so significant of their natural piety and their acquired *credos*, '*Requiescat in pace, ultimus Anglorum!*'

Turning now to the great rival Church in Ireland, the Roman Catholic, we find her, early in the reign of James the First, after the scare of the Powder Plot had in some degree subsided, rapidly regaining her old influence and position. In 1611, a Scotch bishop who visited Ireland wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, stating that the defection of those who had a short time before professed Protestantism was so great, that 'out of hundreds who used to attend the churches, there now in many places resort to them not half a dozen.' This the bishop attributed to the influx of Jesuits, and foreign-bred priests, which he adds, 'is so great that it seems as if the chief burden the ships coming hither bring with them are these men, and they are publicly maintained by the natives in the corporate towns.' The shilling Sunday fine laid by the Act 11 Elizabeth, on recusants, was seldom or ever levied, and when it was, the sum which it amounted to was never given, as the Act directed, to the destitute poor. When the wealthy recusants, who did sometimes pay it, complained of this to the King, Chichester gave the incontrovertible reply that all the poor in Ireland were recusants, and that the money was therefore given to the repair of churches, bridges, and 'other charitable uses.'[1] So completely, if we are to

made him judge it necessary to watch carefully against the beginnings of that disease.'—Clogy's *Life of Bedell.*

[1] 'The money,' he writes, 'is left in the hands of the Clerk of the Crown to

believe the Lord Deputy, had the Established Church in Ireland become that worst kind of idol, the 'rich man's charm and fetish of the strong,' the Church of the rich and great. That the money was not spent on the repair and maintenance of churches we know.

The conduct of the Roman Catholic members in the Irish Parliament of 1613, trenching on his darling prerogative, revived James's Protestant zeal. They sent over a number of agents to represent their grievances, and with one of those James entered into a long political and theological argument, such as his soul delighted in. He placed before this Irish Catholic named Talbot (probably a kinsman of the brothers who were to figure so disastrously in Irish politics after the Restoration) the works of Suarez and other Jesuits, who had maintained the right of the Pope to depose princes and kings, and required him to disavow all belief in that dogma. Talbot refused, declaring that he could not pronounce an opinion on a matter 'of faith,' but must submit himself to the judgment of the Church. He was sent to the Tower, and his companions were ordered to return to Ireland. James had good reasons to dread the monstrous pretensions of the Roman Catholic Church.

Talbot's conduct was but as a straw, yet it indicated the coming storm. The political religionism of the Jesuits was busy in both islands. Their missionary work was supplemented in 1621, by the institution of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide. The wife of James had been won over to Roman Catholicism, and some of her ladies-in-waiting and the courtiers were of the same way of thinking, secretly or openly. James's self-conceit and self-interest alone prevented his following their example. The Jesuits cared little for the conversion of the 'wisest fool in Christendom' in his old age; but his vices, his love of arbitrary power, and his poverty, made him a useful tool in furthering their grand schemes for destroying the

be employed upon the rebuilding of churches and bridges and other charitable uses, because the poor of the parishes, who are not yet indicted, are not fit to receive the same, being recusants themselves, who ought to pay the like penalty.'—*MSS. Rolls House.*

palatine's rule, and securing a Roman Catholic succession on the throne of England. For, as Isaac D'Israeli has well said, 'in the darkness of the Court of Rome, one perpetual dream then hovered over the tiara, the conquest of England by invasion, or, scheme more consonant to the subtle genius of Italian policy, the rule over England by intrigue.'[1]

In October 1622, Endymion Porter, one of the Prince's gentlemen of the household, was sent to Madrid to hasten on the marriage negotiations between his master and the Infanta.[2] Porter was well known in Spain, having some years before resided there, making an open profession of Romanism, while he held a post in the household of Olivarez, Duque de San Luçar. Every step in this marriage treaty was known in Ireland, through the priests and the merchants trading with Spain, probably sooner than it was in England. Porter had not been long in the Spanish capital, when the Lord Deputy wrote from Dublin to the English Privy Council that 'many ill-affected men began to show great boldness,' and that the priests were infusing into the minds of the people hopes of a great alteration in religion.

As the treaty progressed, or seemed to progress, James's whole Irish policy was reversed and the Irish Roman Catholic revival progressed in right earnest. The island swarmed with Jesuits, friars, and priests, from Italy and Spain, who carried on their worship, not as they had hitherto done, by a connivance in private houses, or the chapels attached to them, or in a few country chapels, but all over the island, in cities and towns and parish churches, monasteries and convents, as though no penal law had ever existed. The friars of Multifarnham Abbey, of whom we shall hear more hereafter, in connexion with the rebellion and massacres, with many other friars of different religious orders, made public collections for enlarging the monasteries. In September 1623, a Protestant clergyman, attempting to read the funeral service at the burial of Lady Killeen, is attacked by a crowd of Roman Catholic

[1] *Commentaries on the Reign of Charles I.*, by Isaac D'Israeli, vol. i. p. 244.

[2] *Narrative of the Spanish Marriage Treaty*, translated for the Camden Society by S. R. Gardiner.

women, and beaten severely.[1] Another Protestant clergyman in Meath, in the heart of the Pale, going to read the service on Sunday as usual in his parish church, finds it already occupied by a Roman Catholic priest, and a congregation of some forty persons, who compel the heretic to retire. Sir Hugh Culme writes to the Lord Deputy in October, 1623, from Cavan, informing him that twelve friars in their robes have come to that town, 'carrying matters with a high hand, attended by two thousand Irish, to the great terror of the poor English there.'[2] A few days later, before this terror has subsided, one Henry Dowdall, whom the Lord Deputy's letter describes as 'a gentleman of more wealth than wit,' at the fair of Kells, boasts to a crowd of people that their most gracious prince was married on August 17th to the Infanta, the Right Honourable the Duke of Buckingham carrying the cross before his Highness. Mr. Smith, the vicar of Kells, hearing this wild talk, ventures on a mild remonstrance that 'it is best to be sparing of such reports,' whereupon Mr. Dowdall, who comes of a sturdy race, answers, 'It is I, Harry Dowdall, that report the matter, and will make it good!' And the poor vicar has no more to say, or fears to say it. Captain Arthur Forbes, as sturdy a spirit in his way as Mr. Harry Dowdall, writes to Falkland his report of the Cavan friars, saying that they 'alleged they had a warrant under his Majesty's great seal and subscribed by the Council, especially by my Lord of Canterbury, and that they give out that they will come to his (Forbes's) parish church; which if they do,' he adds, 'unless I surely know it be with his Majesty's tolerance, I will make the antiphonie of their mass to be sung to the sound of muskets.'[3]

English Liberals and Broad Churchmen of the present day must not think scorn of the 'poor English' of Kells in 1623, or condemn too severely the threats of Captain Forbes. Simultaneously with the grand Roman Catholic revival came loud rumours, and confident Irish boasts, of the approaching return of Tyrone's heir, who was to drive out all the English and Scotch, and destroy the plantations. Those 'poor English' of

[1] *MSS. Rolls House.* [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

Sir Hugh Culme's letter had probably, some of them, lived through the days of the St. Bartholomew, as well as that later day when all England was thrilled with the nearer horror of the Powder Plot, their fathers had lived through the days of another Spanish marriage, and had seen the *autos da fé* of Smithfield. These things considered, we, of this self-complacent nineteenth century, may well refrain from censuring or despising the timid or the brave colonists of Ulster in 1622–3. Falkland himself grew uneasy, if not alarmed, and some of the English Council shared in the uneasiness. As James stooped lower, the Spanish demands rose higher, and the English people's wrath and disgust higher still. The Council ordered the Lord Deputy to issue a new proclamation against the Jesuits and friars coming to, or remaining in, Ireland.[1] This order had hardly been received by Falkland, when it was openly reported in Dublin, by the Roman Catholics, that a counter-order from the King would be speedily sent over, and that all proceedings against the priests would be suspended. Falkland did not know what to believe, or how to act. On January 24th, 1622, he wrote to Sir Edward Conway, the second secretary of James, saying, that 'some of the Irish Council advise that the proclamation should not be put forth until he hears again on the subject from England.' He asks directions as to what he is to do, adding 'if the King's resolution on this point wavers, the peace of this kingdom is not assured. The papists accuse my letters to his Majesty and the Council to be the cause of this proclamation, and they have quoted my own very words in those letters to me, yet I cannot be betrayed by my servants, as I always write with my own hand, and do not trust a secretary. They profess to have their information from the Spanish ambassador, and he from his Majesty. If I provoke their malice by doing my duty I do not care, having learned that I owe a sacrifice to my King.'

This letter had hardly reached London before the counter-order predicted by the priests reached Falkland. 'His Majesty having in contemplation a match with Spain, wrote the Council, it was his pleasure 'that the laws against the Roman

[1] *MSS. Rolls House.*

Catholic Church should be suspended, but no tumultuous assemblies of Catholics are to be permitted.' It is likely enough that James did babble the contents of his Deputy's despatches to Gondomar,[1] the chiefest lay agent of the Jesuits and the Congregation in working out their grand scheme of the Catholic succession and the conversion of England, but Falkland's wife and son-in-law were Roman Catholics, and he, like his Sovereign, was surrounded by spies, lower in station than those great ones, and equally indefatigable.

The collapse of the Spanish treaty was a bitter disappointment to the Irish Catholics. Wild rumours circulated among them of an approaching war between Spain and England, in which of course they would be found on the side of the former country. Tyrone, so ran the common talk, was to land immediately in Waterford or Cork. Sir Charles Coote, President of Connaught, wrote from that province to Falkland in May, 1624, that eighty priests and friars, all armed, with a crowd of armed attendants, had assembled a few days before at Sir Hugh O'Connor's house, and that if some course was not taken to check their plottings, 'all the English would have their throats cut on a sudden.' A Franciscan friar had revealed to a friend of Sir Charles that five priests were to go to Scotland and to stir up the people there to rebel. 'One Donell MacSwiney,' he adds, 'is head of the Connaught priests, as their Vicar-General, and a very dangerous man. He sent to Galway from O'Connor's house for a barrel of wine, and drank it there amongst his companions, and paid for it all himself.'

Coote's reports of the militant appearance of this clerical gathering, and of the priests sent to stir up rebellion in Scotland, were probably exaggerated by his fears, but his account of Bishop Swiney's drunken habits is fully borne out

[1] 'Not one of his English dupes, not Charles, not Buckingham, not Laud, not Wentworth, could perceive as yet, that Gondomar was leading them through violent means to yet more violent ends, that he was driving all these victims to the Tower, the assassin's knife, the court of justice and the axe.' . . . He summed up his gains in one joyous sentence: 'The King will not be able to help his children on the Rhine, he will not be able to oppose the Catholics anywhere.'—*Her Majesty's Tower*, vol. iii. p. 98.

by the deposition of Ambrose Bedell, given hereafter, and by what Clogy says he [1] saw at the See House of Kilmore in 1641. It is further borne out by what Clogy tells us of the remark made by an Irish Roman Catholic, in Bedell's presence, when evidence was being given of the drunken habits of a Protestant minister, 'that it was plain the King's priests were as bad as the Pope's priests.'

Sir John Bingley's account of the two Episcopalian churches in Ireland in 1628, which I have already quoted, shows that the Roman Catholic Church popularly supposed nowadays to have been at that time depressed and proscribed, was on the contrary virtually supreme in Ireland. Its Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Vicars-General, Abbots, Priors, and Priests habitually resided in the island taking all the tithes and dues of their office, as amply as the Protestant bishops and clergy :—

> 'They adore the Pope and the King of Spain,' continues Sir John, 'more than God Almighty himself. They have roofed and repaired their nunneries, abbeys, and religious houses of Dominicans, Franciscans, and Carmelites, and above all the dangerous and blasphemous Jesuits, subverters of the King's royalty, and the priests do cheat the people egregiously. There are in Dublin at present fourteen houses for the exercise of the mass and one more remarkable than the rest for the Jesuits, in which about eighty persons are received each one in his habit agreeable to his degree; and they have their altars adorned with images and other foolations (*sic*), popish trash as fully as in Rome and more. They also practise Judaism; for every Easter Day in the morning before sunrise [2] they eat a lamb roasted its head and its appurtenances, as was prescribed to the Jews in the Levitical law, and the poorer sort make lamb pies on Good Friday, and bring them

[1] Swiney's brother had been converted to Protestantism by Bedell, and maintained in his house for some time.—See Burnet's *Life of Bedell*, p. 145–168, and Depositions.

[2] It is likely that some such superstitious practices did prevail at this time, because, until a recent period, within the recollection of persons advanced in years, it was the custom in Ireland to have a joint of lamb dressed for dinner on Easter Sunday. Was this a relic of the early ages when the long contest respecting the proper date for celebrating Easter was going on between the Irish and English churches?

to the priest, who sets them on the altar and sprinkles them with their blasphemous holly (*sic*) water, and the lambs are eaten on Easter Day so roasted. . . . These priests and monks commit a multitude of gross abuses and cheat the poor people, and divers of the better and more judicious sort of papists groan under the burden of them, and desire that they had but two or three priests in a country place; for the burden is heavy and the oppression of the people great.'

And then he concludes, with the passage already quoted, laying the blame on the responsible parties, the Bishops and Ministers of the Established Church.

The truth and impartiality of the substance of this report of Bingley's cannot be doubted, but just because of both it utterly failed to make an impression on Church and State. Had it unscrupulously espoused the cause of one church or the other, or of Irish or English partisans, it would have been noticed, and its author rewarded.

After Falkland's departure, while Lords Cork and Loftus were Lords Justices, pending the arrival of Wentworth, a fraternity of Carmelites began to exercise their religious rites in one of the most public parts of Dublin, close to the Castle. The Protestant Archbishop and the mayor with a troop of soldiers entered the monastery chapel, while mass was being celebrated, and attempted to disperse the congregation, who turned upon them with such violence, that the soldiers and their leaders, armed as they were, had to fly for their lives. The English Council, hearing of this encounter, once more reversed its policy and ordered the monastery and chapel to be razed, and fifteen other religious houses in the city to be confiscated to the King's use. A Roman Catholic college which had lately been erected in or near Dame Street was also seized and handed over to the University authorities, who converted it into a Protestant school. But this check was temporary, and in a few months all was as before, the Lord Deputy poising the two churches in the political balance, or pitting them one against the other, the better to extort money from both for the King to support his despotic schemes in either island. Four years after the order of Council for

confiscating the Dublin monasteries was issued, Bedell writes from Kilmore to Wentworth, defending himself against the charges made by his enemies, that he had opposed the levying contributions, in a moderate and regular way, for the support of the army. Dating his letter 'The day of our joyful deliverance from the Powder Plot,' he goes on to say:—

> 'Indeed if I had any such intention that had been not only to oppose his Majesty's service, but the service of the Highest Majesty, and to expose the public peace and my own neck, to the skeans of the Romish cut-throats. I, that know that in this kingdom of his Majesty, the Pope hath another kingdom, far greater in number, and as I have already fully signified to the Lords Justices and Council, which is also since justified by themselves in print, constantly guided and directed by the orders of the new *Congregation de Propaganda Fide* lately erected at Rome, and by the means of the Nuncio at Paris and Brussels. . . . I, that know that there is in this kingdom, for the moulding of the people of the Pope's obedience, a rabble of irregular regulars commonly younger brothers of good houses, who are grown to that insolency as to advance themselves to be members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in better ranks than priests; insomuch that the censure of the Sorbonne is fain to be employed to curb them, which yet was called in again, so tender is the Pope of these his creatures. And that they have brought this people to such a sottish senselessness, that they care not to learn the ten commandments as God spake them, but flock in great numbers to the preaching of new superstitions and detestable doctrines, such as their own Irish priests are ashamed of, and at these sermons they levy collections—three, four, five and six pounds; shortly I that know that the clergy and these regulars, have at a general meeting like a synod, as they style it, holden at Drogheda, decreed that it is not lawful to take the oath of allegiance, and if they be constant to their own learning, do hold his Majesty to be king only at the Pope's discretion.'

Bedell's long residence in Italy gave him a thorough knowledge of the religious and political designs of the Roman Catholic Church. But Wentworth disregarded his words as Falkland had been obliged to disregard Bingley's, the majority of the Catholic Irish, many of whom were now enrolled in the new army, which was kept idle at Carrickfergus, waiting for

its pay, were left to the monks, while the Ulster Presbyterians were fined and imprisoned for their refusal of the 'black oath,' and their sympathy with their co-religionists in Scotland. On June 30th, 1641, a few weeks after Strafford's execution, the Protestant Archbishop and clergy of Tuam sent in a long remonstrance to the Lords Justices, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, against the 'usurpations and exactions' of the rival church. This wail of the Establishment over the consequences of its own policy, of the defection of a people it had never really sought to win, over their refusal to pay wages for work left undone to those whom they esteemed 'hireling shepherds,' would provoke a smile if we did not know the tragedy that was impending. Every Church living, wrote the Connaught clergymen and their archbishop, 'hath a Romish priest as constantly as a Protestant minister.' He might with more truth have said that for every one of the latter, holding half a dozen benefices, there were a dozen priests and friars *ad libitum*. 'The latter,' continues the remonstrance, 'swarm *hic ille et ubique*. There are monasteries and convents like the Irish nunnery in Lisbon; the titulary Archbishop and his suffragans, do so publicly and powerfully exercise Church jurisdiction, and such obedience is given them, that the jurisdiction of our Church is altogether neglected. The natives, wearied with the charge of a double clergy, do much repine at our ministers; they think what they pay unto us, though far short of what they cheerfully pay to their own priests, to be heavy and burdensome, which makes them question our ancient customs, keep back our tithes, conceal our glebes, deny the Protestant ministers any plan of residence in the parishes, and maliciously indict their proctors.'

The nunnery at Lisbon referred to in this remonstrance was the convent of Bon Succes, for Irish Dominican nuns, founded by a native of Kerry, Dominic O'Daly, who had been a friar in the abbey of Tralee, nominally dissolved in the sixteenth century, but really inhabited by monks and not in ruins, until the end of the seventeenth. He went to Portugal in or about 1612, and became censor of the Inquisition, confessor to the Portuguese Queen, and in 1655, ambassador to

Louis XIV., all the while his father and kinsmen remained tenants on the estate of the Dennys and Herberts in and near Tralee, enjoying, like the rest of the Roman Catholics of native race around them, toleration for their religion and facilities for acquiring lands and wealth, which many of them turned to good account, insomuch that in 1641, before they plunged into a fatal rebellion, the O'Connors, the MacEllistrims, the MacEligots and Walshes, with many others, all Roman Catholics, owned large tracts of land around the town, for which they paid merely nominal chiefries to the Protestant owners in fee.

This remonstrance from Tuam, if it shows the unreasonable expectations of the Established Church, shows equally well the absurdity of the statements made by some Protestant, and all Roman Catholic writers, who would fain persuade their readers that the Irish Roman Catholic Church was grievously oppressed and debarred from exercising its rites immediately before the rebellion of 1641.[1] The very reverse was the fact; Roman Catholicism was virtually, though not ostensibly, supreme in Ireland in the spring and summer of 1641; the Roman Catholics had a majority in the army and in the parliament, their bishops, priests and friars were well supported by their flocks, every Catholic nobleman had his chaplain or confessor openly residing in his house. As more than one of those Roman Catholic noblemen and gentlemen confessed, when the fatal results of the rebellion began to make them repent of having ever embarked in it, their clergy in Ireland had no reasonable excuse for urging it on, much less for encouraging the people to extirpate the Protestants. A few Irish priests and friars, and one Bishop (Dease of Meath) admitted this to be the truth. But they were a weak minority, hated and calumniated by the orthodox Romanists, whose object was not at all the mere remedying of Irish grievances, but the old grand object, dating from 1621 or 1605, the estab-

[1] In October, 1637, Wentworth, writing to Windebank, says that the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel received fully two thousand pounds a year out of Ireland, an immense sum for those days.—Strafford's *Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 111. The Archbishop (Thomas Walsh) generally resided in Spain, where he died in 1654.

lishment of a Roman Catholic succession on the English throne, and the establishment of the supremacy of the Pope in both islands. England was the first thought of the Roman Catholic Church put into commission, Ireland the second, but it was expedient to put Ireland in the front against the Puritans (as they were nicknamed), who were opposing the religious and political mission of the church in both islands.

According to the work of a Jesuit priest of the present day, 'in the reign of Charles I. when Parliament was anxious to limit the royal prerogative, the life of a priest often became a question of state.' It would be more correct to say that the life of a priest did, of necessity, unhappily become a question of state, when he[1] was found disputing the right of a Protestant King to govern a Protestant country, or if not disputing it, assisting that King to crush the Protestant Parliament, and to establish a despotism in England for the benefit of a Roman Catholic successor, who might be able to say, '*l'etat est moi*',' the '*moi*,' as in the case of the old King, who in his youth spoke those words, finally merging in the Jesuit confessor behind the throne with his bastilles and dragonnades.

On November 12th, 1640, Lord Deputy Wandesford prorogued the Irish Parliament until January 26th following, the Committee meantime going over to lay their remonstrance before the King and the English House of Commons. Wandesford would have prorogued the Houses in Ireland sooner, but that he vainly hoped to get the Act for the

[1] 'To the intriguing spirit of this man (Father Parsons), whose whole life was a series of machinations against the sovereign of his country, the succession to its crown and the interests of the secular clergy of his own faith, were I to ascribe more than half the odium under which the English Catholics laboured for two centuries, I should only say what has been often said with truth. Having gained an ascendency over the minds of many, he infused his spirit and spread his maxims, and to his successors of the Society bequeathed an admiration of his character and a love of imitating it, which has helped to perpetuate dissensions, and to make us to this day a divided people. His writings, which are an exact transcript of his mind, are dark, imposing, problematical, and seditious.'—Rev. Joseph Berrington, D.D., Roman Catholic historian, quoted in *Notes and Queries*, 1854. Dr. Berrington was a well-known and respected Roman Catholic writer of the last century, but his works have been carefully put out of sight, and out of fashion, since the order to which Parsons belonged has regained power in England.

Connaught plantation passed. Strafford, although well-nigh overwhelmed by the King's difficulties, was still from England, urging on that now hopeless Connaught[1] project, when his deputy fell ill and died on December 3rd. Sir William Parsons and Lord Dillon were appointed Lords Justices, but the Irish Committee disapproving of Lord Dillon, Sir John Borlase was appointed in his stead. During the autumn and winter rumours were circulated in both islands of coming troubles in Ireland. On November 21st, the day after Strafford's impeachment, the Lord Chief Justice brought under the notice of the English House of Commons the informations of a Mrs. Anne Hussy, a convert from the Roman Catholic Church, against an Irish priest, named O'Connor, who in conversation with her told her, that 'many thousands were preparing and in pay to cut all the Protestants' throats.' In the preceding October, Laud had received a long statement or 'discovery' of a plot against the Protestant Church, himself and the King, from Sir William Boswell, the English ambassador at the Hague. The name of the discoverer who penned this statement and gave it to Boswell for transmission to Laud is unknown to this day, but the ambassador says he was introduced to his notice by a 'friend' of good character and position. He (the discoverer) had been a Roman Catholic priest in the employment of the papal legate in London, Cuneus or Coneys (a Scotchman), for several years, and in this way became acquainted with the traitorous designs he revealed to the ambassador. The King and the Archbishop he said were to be put to death in one way or another, and the Scots incited to rebellion and to destroy the Church of England, but the Prince of Wales was to be spared, that he might be converted to Roman Catholicism and placed on the throne.

The chief laymen concerned in this vast plot were, according

[1] In October Radcliffe wrote to Strafford: 'I am altogether of opinion to prorogue the Parliament here if I could get the Connaught Act passed;' and on November 5th the Lord Lieutenant wrote in reply from York: 'I have writ to London to prorogue the Parliament there (in Ireland); in the meantime the Connaught Act to be passed, if possible, may be.'—*Life and Correspondence of Radcliffe*, pp. 204, 210.

to the anonymous discoverer, Captain Reid, a lay Jesuit (or Jesuit of the *robe courte*, as the French have it), at whose house in Long Acre the plotters used to meet; Sir Toby Matthews; two or three Scotch Catholic noblemen; the chaplain of the Marquis of Hamilton, who is, however, said to have withdrawn from the plot when he discovered its whole object; and one Chamberlain, a secret agent from Cardinal Richelieu to Scotland, with other lay and clerical members of the Roman Catholic Church. Some of them, it is said, were unknown to one another, and but few were fully acquainted with the designs of the chief conspirators—the Jesuit Fathers. Reid figures conspicuously in the Irish rebellion of 1641, as the secret agent of the King and Queen to the Roman Catholic gentry of the Pale. He was arrested and examined on the rack in Dublin, a fact which has been made much of by the censurers of Parsons and Borlase, but the severities used towards him were due probably to his name having been mixed up in the revelations of this plot the year before, and to his house in London having been a special meeting-place for the Jesuits and their friends.

It is possible that this 'discoverer' of 1640 may have been an impostor, but Boswell and other gentlemen of credit and intelligence were inclined to believe his story; and at all events it is absurd to denounce him, as some Protestant writers have done (in their weak inability to resist 'fashions' in religion and politics), as a perjurer, without being able to produce an iota of proof in support of this charge. It is remarkable that the three or four events which he stated the conspirators designed to bring about did actually take place within ten years. The King and Laud were both sent to the scaffold, and Charles II. lived and died a Roman Catholic. It is very likely that the Jesuits were well content to let Charles I., like his father, go—provided that the church had the guiding of his exiled heir with a hope of ultimately restoring him to the English throne a Catholic, with a Catholic for his heir presumptive.

On March 16th, 1641, the Lords Justices Parsons and Borlase received a letter from Sir Henry Vane, then Secretary

to the King, informing them that his Majesty desired to give them notice, that by advices from his ministers in Spain and elsewhere he found that immense numbers of English and Irish Roman Catholics from the Continent had lately passed into Ireland, under pretence of going to ask leave to raise soldiers for the Spanish and French services, and that among the 'Irish friars in Spain a whisper ran' as if a rebellion was expected in Ireland. It is doubtful whether this letter was not merely another petty piece of dissimulation on the part of the unhappy King. It is not consistent with his professed friendship for Spain, nor with his proposals, only a few weeks later, to send thousands of Irish Catholic officers and soldiers to that country. It may have been a vain attempt to conciliate the Irish Protestants, who were eagerly pressing for the execution of Strafford.

Another despairing effort in the same direction may have been the letter which he addressed to the Lords Justices on May 3rd, a week before the re-assembling of the Irish Parliament (prorogued from March 5th), expressing his pleasure that all the 'Graces' of 1628 should be granted, and that bills should be prepared and transmitted for his consideration, preparatory to making the most important of them law in the approaching session in Dublin. But the time had passed for satisfying the Irish with false promises and flattering words. Both Houses in Ireland had learnt their lesson by experience, and by the example of the English Parliament. While returning formal thanks for his Majesty's gracious intentions, they requested, or rather demanded, that they should not be again prorogued until all the promised 'Graces,' especially those limiting the Crown title to sixty years, and checking plantations, had become the law of the land, and every grievance had been redressed. In the course of their impeachment in the winter session of the Chancellor Bolton, Chief Justice Lowther, Bramhall, and Sir George Radcliffe, the Chancellor had questioned the legality of their proceedings against him, on the ground that the Irish House of Lords had no judicature in capital cases. After long and stormy debates the question was referred, as was inevitable, to the considera-

tion of the English Council[1] and Upper House, and this afforded a plausible excuse for the delay of the return of the bills which were to make the 'Graces' law.

The Irish Houses, however, were determined not to lose more time than they could help, and they pressed on with vehemence the abolition of the High Commission Court, pronouncing its late sentences against five Presbyterian ministers in Ulster null and void. They condemned the exaction of tithes in kind by the clergy of the Establishment, and then proceeded to other measures, which, taken in connexion with the subsequent rebellion, had a deep significance. A Bill was passed for restraining the exercise of martial law in the government of the army, even in war time, and a Committee of both Houses was appointed and authorised to search the Government magazines and public stores in Dublin, in order to ascertain the quantity of gunpowder and arms they contained. The pretence for this search was that Strafford's friends designed to revenge his death on some of the members, who had borne witness against him. Sir John Borlase, who was master of the Ordnance, as well as Lord Justice, refused to allow the Committee, one of whom was Lord Maguire, to inspect the magazines, assuring them, with a touch of grim sarcasm, that there was no powder placed under the Parliament House for their destruction.

The Irish army, old and new, remained in Carrickfergus all through the winter, spring, and early summer idle, with large arrears of pay due to officers and soldiers, which the Government was unable to meet. On May 12th, 1641, the Lords Justices wrote to England that the country was most fearfully robbed and harassed by the soldiers. The people did not complain. 'Wherein,' the Lords Justices thought, 'there was a mystery,' boding no good to the State, the soldiers being almost all Roman Catholics.

[1] 'The question (of judicature) was seriously debated in the English House of Lords and in the English Council, and the King persuaded to suspend the Acts of grace and favour to his Irish subjects until this weighty point should be determined. The subsequent disorders in both kingdoms seem to have prevented the formal determination.'—Leland, vol. iii. p. 77. The truth was that the King required no persuasion, but gladly availed himself of an excuse for putting off the granting of the 'Graces.'—*V. Appendix.*

On May 13th, the day after Strafford's execution,[1] the King issued warrants, directing Colonels Taafe, Garret, and John Barry, John Butler, Richard Plunket, George Porter, and Christopher Belling (all Roman Catholics), to transport each of them a thousand of the Irish soldiers to Spain. At first there seems to have been no opposition to this scheme, except on the part of the priests, for on June 30th the Irish Council wrote to Vane, saying that Colonel Belling had sailed on the 7th of the same month for Spain, with the thousand men according to his warrant.[2] He went away 'very quietly,' they add, 'although we are informed there was great underhand labouring among the priests, friars, and Jesuits to dissuade the disbanded soldiers from departing the kingdom, which also you may partly observe by the enclosed examinations.' The enclosures were depositions made by persons who had heard the friars preaching to the soldiers near Dublin, not to depart the kingdom, as 'there might be soon much need for them at home.' The priests and friars' endeavours with the remaining six thousand seem to have been more successful, for they remained in Ireland, and were not disbanded until the beginning of June. Ormond's letter on the 9th of that month to Vane says the disbanding has been effected 'with reasonable content to the common soldiers.' They do not, however, appear to have been sent away to their homes, but rather held together in hopes of foreign service, for all through July, August, and the early part of September, the King was pressing the English House of Commonsto allow them to embark for Spain. On August 3rd, the Lords Justices wrote that they were doing all in their power to send the troops away, but that the Catholics in the Parliament were influenced by the priests to oppose their departure. On September 9th,[3] the King again signified to the English Parliament that the Spanish ambassador complained that he had incurred great expense providing ships and provisions for the promised levies, and prayed that, at least, four regiments should be sent to Spain. The Parliament, however, absolutely

[1] Carte, vol. i. p. 268, 270. [2] *V. Appendix.*
[3] Nalson, vol. ii.

refused the request, and issued orders that a stop should be put to all ships in the ports having any such levies on board, and that merchants should give security that their ships should not convey soldiers to Spain. The Parliament feared that if the soldiers went to Spain they might return to Ireland better disciplined and armed under the command of veteran Catholic officers to carry out the designs of their Church. In point of fact it mattered little whether the soldiers went or stayed, although had they gone and returned under Owen O'Neil, there would probably have been fewer massacres in the first year of the now inevitable rebellion. By the end of September they were dispersed all over Ireland—idle, discontented, and impoverished—ripe for any mischief.

The Irish Parliament sat until August 7th,[1] daily expecting the return of their Committee from London, with the promised bills for the 'Graces,' and the making void the Connaught plantation project. 'On that day,' says Carte, 'the Houses decided with the consent of the Lords Justices to adjourn;' but Leland more truly says that 'they were very reluctant to adjourn,' and that the 'solicitude the members expressed for a continuance of the session served but to confirm the Lords Justices in their earnestness for a recess.' The anonymous chronicler, whose MS.,[2] entitled an 'Aphoris-

[1] *MSS. Rolls House.*

[2] Carte, in his preface to the *Life of Ormond*, justly describes this MS. as written with so much partiality and fury, and as containing such notorious falsehoods, that it is wholly unworthy of credit. Yet one cannot regret that it has been printed, for it shows, as nothing else perhaps could, the incurable stupidity and ferocious bigotry of the Nuncio's party. The anonymous author, who was probably a priest in the Nuncio's train, not only slanders Protestants indiscriminately, but assails with furious malice the noblest and best Roman Catholic names in Ireland. His MS. unites in a ludicrous fashion the pedantry of the old Irish hedge schoolmaster and the scurrility of a fishwife. Thus Oliver Darcy, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Dromore, is described by him as a 'Caiaphas and the first-begotten of Beelzebub,' Lord Taafe as a 'common cogging gamester,' Castlehaven as a 'parricide,' Ormond as a 'traitor and purloiner of public money,' Muskerry another traitor; but the climax is reached in the description of the Catholic Clanricarde, who is set down as an 'Accaron (*sic*) of unbelief, Amon of a Catholic nation, Amorrheus of kingly sceptres, Babel of Ireland's war, Bela of the Commonwealth, Cozbie of honesty, Doeg of destruction, Horeb of holy religion, Horma of all ecclesiastical censures, Jebus of Church immunities, Jeroboam of Christian people, Joas of God's assistance, Ishbosheth of all confederacy, Iscariot

mical discovery of Treasonable Faction,' has been edited for the Celtic and Archæological Association of Ireland by Mr. J. T. Gilbert, F.S.A., confirms Leland's account of the adjournment having been forced on by the Lords Justices. There is some evidence in the letters of Sir William Parsons himself hereafter given[1] to show that there was even in 1641 no real intention of granting the 'Graces,' and that the King desired to delay the Committee in England until the Parliament in Ireland had been prorogued. At all events it is clear that Sir William Parsons was averse to the stopping of the Connaught plantation project, and that he probably adjourned the Houses for the purpose of preventing the 'Graces' becoming law that session. At the same time it must be admitted that the violent and unreasonable conduct of some of the Catholic members greatly helped on this design. With the usual impatient turbulence of Roman Catholic politicians under the control of fanatical[2] priests, they pressed on the judicature question and other impracticable demands which, if granted, would have deprived England of all control over Ireland. Their best policy would have been to abandon their absurd aspirations for 'national independence' for a country so divided by races and clans and creeds that it could not be called a nation at all, and to continue in session, concentrating their attention on such measures as were practicable for the benefit of trade and agriculture, while they waited for the return of the Committee bringing the all-important bills for the limitation of the Crown title to lands, and the stopping of plantations. Such a quiet and determined policy would probably have defeated the designs of those who wished to prevent those just and reasonable bills becoming law that present session. But not for the first time or the last in their

of murder and massacre, Pharos of all native interests, and Pharisceus of godly union and association.'—*Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction*, vol. v. p. 125. Father Walsh, the Franciscan, is 'a chief Mercury of Beelzebub.' After those specimens it is probable that readers will be disposed to think Carte's judgment of this MS. is more correct than Mr. Gilbert's, who considers it a valuable and impartial historical record.

[1] *V. Appendix.*

Lecky's *History of Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 384.

sad history, the Irish threw away the substance for the shadow, and the Lords Justices found little difficulty in taking advantage of their divided councils, and breaking up the assembly of noisy orators. They appointed a Committee to sit during the recess, which was to terminate on November 9th. The rest departed to the provinces, some to superintend in peace and hope, in their pleasant country demesnes, the harvest homes and operations, reaping the summer and sowing the winter corn, receiving their rents from prosperous and contented tenants; others, less peaceably disposed, thriftless, broken-down noblemen, and gentlemen who had long ago anticipated theirs, to brood over their debts, disappointments, and grievances; foregathering with the disbanded soldiers and the political priest, plotting, conspiring, sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind. Three weeks after the adjournment the Committee, with the exception of Lord Dillon, who had gone with Charles to Scotland, arrived in Dublin with (according to Carte and Leland) the bills for the 'Graces,' promised thirteen years before, duly licensed under Poyning's Act, to be made law in the approaching November session.

Foremost amongst the discontented nobles of the Irish Parliament of 1641, was the Lord Maguire already mentioned, as one of the Committee who desired to inspect the magazines of Dublin Castle in the summer of that year. Cuconnaght Maguire, chief of his sept and lord of Fermanagh, surrendered that country to Queen Elizabeth, who regranted it to him by letters patent. His son Hugh, who succeeded him in the lordship and estate, was killed by Sir Warham St. Leger in rebellion, and King James granted the country to Connor Roe Maguire, a lesser chief of the tribe, who had remained faithful to the Crown. Cuconnaght Maguire, the younger brother of Hugh, having, however, also submitted to James and done good service, that King decided to recall his patent of the whole country to Connor Roe, and to divide the land between him and his kinsman Cuconnaght. Connor Roe, therefore, was obliged to surrender his patent grant, and Chichester divided the land, setting apart the larger portion for Cuconnaght, as the son of the old chieftain, and giving the smaller

to Connor Roe. Each held his portion for a few years, until the plantation of Ulster began, when the greater part of Fermanagh was taken up for the new colonists.[1] Three baronies of the seven which the county contained, had been promised to Connor Roe, but the plantation deprived him of more than two of these.[2] Carte says that he was left in possession of the whole barony of Magherstefana, comprising 6,480 acres, and had also a pension of 200*l.* a year, equivalent to about twelve hundred or a thousand at the present day. His son Brian succeeded to the lands, had a pension of 100*l.*, and was created Baron Maguire of Enniskillen, and at his death the title and estate descended to Connor, Lord Maguire of Enniskillen, in 1641. He is said to have been a man of extravagant and dissipated habits, but the revenues he derived from his diminished estate, diminished through the breach of the King's solemn promise, must have been very insufficient to maintain the state and dignity of a Baron, of which he had probably exaggerated notions. His own confession of his treasonable plottings, hereafter given, shows him to have been a weak, bigoted man, without much courage, physical or mental.

The real 'head' of the conspiracy, in the full sense of the word, was Roger More, or O'More of Ballyna, in Kildare, a descendant of the chiefs of Leix (a territory comprising the eastern and southern portions of the present Queen's County), and related in blood to many of the old Anglo-Irish families. Carte exaggerates his good qualities,[3] but he was undoubtedly a man of considerable ability, handsome in person, agreeable in manner, and a very brave soldier. He served through the

[1] Sir John Davis, in his letters to Salisbury, says of Fermanagh that if he were to describe it as it is, his description would appear a 'poetical fiction,' so rich and beautiful was the country.

[2] 'Connor Roe Maguire hath his Majesty's word for the whole barony of Magherstefana, the whole barony of Clancallie, the half barony of Tircannada, and the half barony of Knockaninny, which contain 390 *tathes*, or 12,287½ acres, and do take up five of the least proportions, two of the middle, and two of the greatest, and are to be passed to him according to his Majesty's royal word. Howbeit, we do think it convenient that he do keep in his possession only one great proportion of 2,000 acres, and do make freeholds in the rest in such manner as shall be prescribed unto him by the Commissioners.'—*Project for the Plantation of Ulster. Harris's Hibernica*, p. 116.

[3] Carte, p. 315. *MSS. Rolls House.*

first year of the rebellion, and then sheathed his sword, having been disgusted, it is said, by the violence and cruelties of Phelim O'Neil, and the never-ending strifes and divisions of the Cavalier and Catholic Party in Ireland.[1]

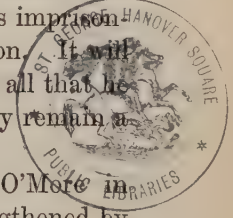
Phelim, or Sir Phelim O'Neil, who then, to his own and his country's misfortune, became the ostensible head of the rebellion, until his far abler and worthier cousin, Owen O'Neil, arrived in Ireland, was, after the death of Tyrone and his son, the legitimate representative of his ancient family and the owner of an excellent estate in Tyrone and Armagh, which had been granted by letters patent to his grandfather, Sir Henry O'Neil, who had been faithful to the English Crown. He was about thirty-eight years of age in 1641, and had been educated in England, as was his younger brother Turlogh. In England, and for some time after his return to Ulster, he professed himself a Protestant, but afterwards made a profession of Roman Catholicism, probably not more sincere than his former one. He was extremely profuse and extravagant, and before he left England had been obliged to mortgage part of his estate to Lord Caulfield and the Hamiltons, in order to satisfy his creditors.

Attempts have been made by not a few writers on the events of 1641 to invest Phelim O'Neil with the dignity of a hero-martyr for his country and his creed, and an especial victim to the Hamilton family, because, having lent him money to pay his debts, they required security for the loan. But every act of Phelim O'Neil's life to impartial students of Irish history shows him to have been a weak, vain, cruel braggart, with nothing to raise him above the crowd but the accidental advantages of birth, physical bravery, and the favour of the Stuart kings, who were willing to favour any one, however unworthy, who fawned on them, or supported their arbitrary rule. Roman Catholics who desire to make a hero of any of the leaders of the fatal rebellion of 1641, had much

[1] Carte, p. 315. For a very interesting account of Leix and a map of that territory, Offaly, Iregan, Clanmalier, &c., in 1563, a facsimile of an ancient one in the British Museum, *v. Proceedings and Papers of the Kilkenny Archæological Society* for July 1863.

better select Owen O'Neil or Muskerry for that purpose. Owen O'Neil, with all his bigotry, was a chivalrous and able soldier, who made war in an honourable fashion, not staining his sword or the swords of his soldiers when he commanded them, with the blood of helpless, unarmed peasants—men, women, and children—or earning, as Sir Phelim did from his countrymen, the significant nickname of *Phelim a tothane*, i.e. 'Phelim the fire-brand or the burner.'

The details of the conspiracy under the three[1] leaders, Maguire, More, and Phelim O'Neil, are partly revealed in the confession of the former, which he wrote during his imprisonment in the Tower of London before his execution. It will be found in the Appendix. Maguire probably told all that he knew, but the innermost springs of the conspiracy remain a mystery to this day, and are likely to remain so.



It was first broached to Lord Maguire by O'More in February 1641, and before Midsummer was strengthened by the adhesion of the two O'Neils, Philip O'Reilly of Cavan (an M.P.), Collo MacMahon, Colonels Byrne, Richard Plunket, and Sir James Dillon (younger brother of Lord Dillon, who went with the King to Edinburgh in August), Emer MacMahon, a priest, subsequently Bishop of Clogher, Friars John Barnewall and Neil O'Neil, and Toole O'Connolly, a priest, who acted as messengers to France and Spain, bringing back secret promises of aid from Richelieu and Tyrone. Roger O'More promised that Lord Mayo would assist, Plunket made larger promises for his kinsmen of the Pale, especially for Lord Gormanston, and Sir James Dillon answered for the rest of the Colonels, who had been selected by the King to command the promised regiments for Spain. All through the summer and early autumn, the secret plottings went on; October 5th was first appointed for the rising, but the illness and deaths of Phelim O'Neil's and Collo MacMahon's wives and the hesitations of the nobles and gentry of the Pale and the

[1] Emer MacMahon, Bishop of Clogher, was also from the first a counsellor and active assistant of the three chief conspirators, but Maguire's confession (naturally) omits mentioning him in that light, although it states that he was one of their party. The details of Maguire's trial and execution are very curious and interesting as they are given by Rushworth.

Colonels delayed matters, and finally October 23rd was fixed on.

A few days before that date a remarkable meeting of the conspirators, lay and clerical, was held at Multifarnham Abbey in Westmeath, then occupied by a community of Franciscan monks. As there has been much disputing and sharp differences of opinion between historians as to what then and there took place, each giving his own version of Dr. Henry Jones's relation, taken down from the lips of the guardian of the Multifarnham Franciscans, which relation is the only authority we have to depend on, I have given it at length in the Appendix exactly as it stands in Dr. Jones's MSS. in the College. It will be seen that according to the Franciscan's statement to Dr. Jones, the chief question debated at this meeting was what should be done with the Protestants, when the island was conquered by the Roman Catholics. One section of the assembly, including the Franciscans, advocated the more merciful policy of sparing the lives of the Protestants, while depriving them of their houses and lands, on the ground that as many Irish Catholics owed their education, 'if no more,' to the Protestants, and had lived in friendship with them, it would be too cruel to murder them, besides that such a course would rouse the anger of all parties in England. Another section argued it would be dangerous to spare the lives of the Protestants, for they might again grow strong or fly to England and Scotland to bring the vengeance of their countrymen on Ireland. A third section, whose counsels, according to Dr. Jones, ultimately prevailed, was for a middle course, to spare the lives of such despoiled Protestants as might be employed to work for the Catholics, and might ultimately conform to their creed, but to put the rest to death.

As October 22nd drew near, the hesitations of the Pale gentlemen, according to Lord Maguire, increased; and ultimately they and all the Colonels, Byrne, MacMahon, and Richard Plunket[1] excepted, drew back from their appointed

[1] In the abstract made by Carte of the now missing portion of the valuable and interesting memoirs of Colonel Walter Plunket, who adhered to Ormond against the Nuncio in 1641–7, this Colonel Richard Plunket is thus described:

task of seizing on Dublin Castle, and left it to those three, with Lord Maguire, Roger More, Captain Fox, and Bryan O'Neil. Two hundred men from different parts of Ulster and Leinster were to be sent to Dublin secretly on the afternoon of the 22nd, to act under those leaders on the following day. On the night of the 22nd, or the morning of the 23rd, Sir Phelim O'Neil was to fall upon Londonderry, while his brother Turlogh and Sir Henry O'Neil were to seize Carrickfergus, and Sir Con Magennis and his brothers were to possess themselves of Newry. There was to be as little bloodshed as possible, and the Ulster Scotch were on no account to be molested.

While all these arrangements for their ruin, if not their extermination, were being made, the English Protestant colonists remained utterly unsuspicious for the most part, and full of confidence in the goodwill of their Roman Catholic neighbours, whose religion was now virtually supreme, or at the very least openly tolerated, and who in another month, had they remained quiet, would probably have seen the laws passed which were to secure them in their estates, now covering fully two-thirds of the whole island. The troubles in Scotland were supposed to be at an end, and although some of the wilder fanatical Roman Catholics in Ireland fancied this portended evil to their country, the English Parliament was not likely to give them much trouble, provided that the King could act frankly and honestly, and that he and the Queen did not drive matters to extremity by exciting the fears of the Presbyterians and Puritans, that Romanism in the Church and absolutism in the State were fast advancing upon them.

'He was a younger brother, and a mere soldier of fortune. . . . Roger More was a much more polite man; and seeing into Plunket and finding him a great bigot, used the same spur and cheat of religion that you find in Maguire's declaration, as he did to others, and also fixed Barnewall, the clergyman, in his interest, who, being no less ambitious and covetous than the laity, made himself a tool fit for More's contrivance.'—*Plunket MSS.*, p. 143. I am greatly indebted to the kindness of Mr. Plunket Dunne, of Brittas, for a loan of the original portion of this valuable MS., written by his ancestor, Colonel Walter Plunket, with which is bound up a copy of Carte's abstract of the now missing portion made by Mr. J. P. Prendergast for the late General Plunket Dunne, of Brittas. It is to be hoped that the whole volume may be published at some future time.

In the first week of October, Brian Maguire,[1] a Catholic gentleman of Fermanagh, having heard of the conspiracy from an Irish friar, and having observed the frequent meetings of the chief conspirators at Lord Maguire's house, gave secret warning to Sir William Cole, who on the 11th wrote from Enniskillen to the Lords Justices that some mischief was brewing, and that he and other Protestants were feeling alarmed. The Lords Justices, however, resting after the late stormy session, disregarded the letter, at least took no steps to secure the persons accused in it, and so matters remained, seemingly quiet, until October 22nd. Up to the afternoon or early evening of that day, to the extreme disappointment and surprise of Lord Maguire and More, only eighty of the promised two hundred soldiers who were to help them to seize the castle had arrived in Dublin, even a smaller and less effective contingent than that with which poor Emmett set forth on the same insane enterprise more than two hundred and fifty years later. But the attempt of 1641, against the old citadel on Cork Hill, was destined to fail not through those who failed at the rendezvous, but through one who was most faithful in keeping it. This was Colonel Hugh MacMahon of Connagh in Monaghan, the grandson of the Earl of Tyrone, and the owner of an excellent estate in the former county. The plausible tongue of Roger More had led him to believe he was victimised in religion and fortune, but he still retained a friendly feeling for his Protestant neighbours, or for some of them at least, amongst whom was one Owen O'Connolly, an agent or factor in the employment of the brother of Sir John Clotworthy at Moneymore.

On Tuesday, October 19th, O'Connolly, who was a staunch Presbyterian, received a letter from MacMahon, urging him to come to Connagh on business of importance. When he went there he found that his friend had gone to Dublin, and at once followed him. About six o'clock on the evening of October 22nd, O'Connolly reached MacMahon's lodgings in Oxmanstown, near the site of the present Four Courts, and was received, notwithstanding his heresy, with a *cead mille*

[1] V. Deposition of Brian Maguire of Tempo.

failthe. The two friends walked to Lord Maguire's lodgings, but finding him absent they refreshed themselves with a glass of beer, and returned to Oxmanstown. There, in MacMahon's rooms, they sat probably again refreshing themselves over a friendly bowl, until the hot-headed, kindly-hearted Colonel's tongue was unloosed, and in his desire to save the life of his Presbyterian countryman, he revealed to him the whole plot of the next day, assuring him that every Protestant in Ireland who opposed it would be cut off. O'Connolly, terrified, entreated MacMahon not to peril his life and estate in such a desperate enterprise, but rather at once to make it known to the Lords Justices. His entreaties were of no avail, and MacMahon, fearing that O'Connolly would himself turn informer, told him he must stay with him and accompany him on his work the following morning.

If O'Connolly had drunk overmuch, he was now sobered by sheer terror, sufficiently to enable him to deceive his friendly gaoler and to escape into the yard of the house, from whence, after climbing a wall or two, he made his way to Sir William Parsons,[1] to whom he told his story. Parsons sent for Borlase, every necessary precaution was taken to secure the castle and city, and in the course of a few hours Lord Maguire and MacMahon were in prison, and the rest of the Dublin knot of conspirators were flying for their lives to Wicklow and Ulster. The Lords Justices and Council issued a proclamation on the 23rd to the effect that a 'discovery had been made of a most disloyal and detestable conspiracy, intended by some evil affected Irish papists for the seizing of the Castle of Dublin, and all his Majesty's fortifications in Ireland,' but that it had 'by God's great mercy been disappointed,' that all loyal subjects were to 'stand with cheerful-

[1] Borlase's *History*, or the *History of the Rebellion* attributed to him, says that O'Connolly revealed the plot to Sir W. Parsons late in the evening, but that he, thinking it only the tale of a tipsy man, did not pay much attention to it, and let the informer go, charging him, however, to return again if he had any more intelligence gathered, and that he did so return, and then, after sleeping off his drunkenness, told all. But the letter of Sir William Parsons and the examination of O'Connolly hereafter given show that Borlase was mistaken, and that O'Connolly told all on his first visit.

ness and confidence on their defence, and show their loyalty and good faith, which should in due time be rewarded.'

The words 'some Irish papists,' perfectly true and justifiable as they were, gave offence to the Catholic nobility and gentry of the Pale. *Qui s'excuse s'accuse* may be said of those susceptible spirits, but to show that they were not unwilling to trust Catholics, the Lords Justices gave arms for seventeen hundred men to Lord Gormanston, and to the Catholic gentlemen of Louth, Dublin, Westmeath and Kildare, while Wexford, Waterford, Trim, and Dundalk, eminently Catholic towns, had licence to import powder and ammunition. Sharp censure, and even tirades of abuse, have been lavished on the Lords Justices for their hesitation in placing a larger amount of arms in the hands of the Roman Catholics of the Pale. No one has ever believed that the noblemen and gentlemen of that district, or the great Munster leader, MacCarthy, Lord Muskerry, had any direct share in the massacres of 1641, or even countenanced or approved of them, but considering the immense difficulty of their position in being required to act openly and decidedly against a rising, openly favoured by their Church, in fact, led and officered by its priests, it was impossible to place unlimited confidence in their ability to fight in defence of the Protestant Church and State of that day. Besides, if those Catholic gentlemen did venture, like Lords Muskerry and Clanricarde, to act against the politics of the real authorities of their Church, they could not answer for their ignorant followers. Catholics, like Lord Westmeath, Bishop Dease, and John Knight of Kerry, were excommunicated and censured for remaining neutral. Colonel Purcell, one of the Catholic leaders in Limerick, told Lady Brown of Hospital, as she relates in her sworn deposition hereafter given, that he had been twice excommunicated by his bishop before he consented to take up arms against the Parliament, and another Catholic leader in the same county told her, that no Protestant should be allowed to hold 'a foot of land in Ireland.'

In the face of these facts it is surely strange to find writers of eminence, whose opinions and statements on other matters

connected with Irish history are admirably correct and impartial, stating that the rebellion had little to do with religion, and that it was the ordinance of the English Parliament in the first week of December 1641 against Roman Catholicism which turned the civil war into a religious one. This singular assertion has been often put forth in the same pages, which quote or give in substance the following extract from the Lords Justices' letter of October 25th to the English Council:—

> 'On Saturday (the 23d) at 12 o'clock of the night the Lord Blayney came to town, bringing us the ill news of the rebels seizing with two hundred men his house at Castleblaney in the county of Monaghan, as also a house of the Earl of Essex called Carrickmacross, and a house of Sir Henry Spotswood's in the same county, where there being a little plantation of British, the rebels plundered the town and burnt down other villages, and robbed and spoiled many English and none but Protestants, leaving the English papists untouched as well as the Irish ones.'

The sworn depositions of gentlemen, ladies, ministers, farmers, tradesmen, &c. all confirm the truth of this statement, that from the first day of the rebellion the rebels declared that the war was a religious one. They tore the Bibles from the Protestant churches on the evening of October 23rd, and, as the Rev. Mr. Slack's deposition tells us, stamped on them, crying out 'A plague on this book, it has bred all this trouble!' The ordinance of the English Parliament in December against Roman Catholicism was the consequence, not the cause, of the strife being made from the first a religious one by the priests, and the people who were wholly under their guidance and control.

Dublin was saved by the prudence and promptitude of the Lords Justices. Munster [1] and Connaught were as yet quiet, but Ulster, with the exception of a few towns and strongholds, was given over a helpless prey to the rebels. Sir Phelim O'Neil, foiled in his hopes of seizing Londonderry (which had

[1] V. in Appendix a curious account of the beginning of the rebellion in the county and city of Cork by an anonymous contemporary writer, evidently a Protestant inhabitant of the latter place. It has never been printed or noticed before.

been warned on the 21st by Sir William Cole, who had early and full intelligence from Brian Maguire), set out on the evening of October 22nd to pay an apparently friendly visit to young Lord Caulfield[1] and his mother at Charlemont Castle. He had, as seems usual with him, a train of followers, but all were received hospitably and a plentiful supper was prepared for them. But in the midst of the entertainment at a given signal from Sir Phelim his unsuspecting host, his family, and household were all made close prisoners. We shall hereafter see the fate of the young lord. That same night or morning, Sir Phelim seized Dungannon, one of his officers, Cormac O'Hagan, surprised Moneymore, the O'Quins took the fort of Mountjoy, the O'Hanlons Tandaragee, while Sir Con Magennis, with a monk named Crelly or Crowley for his aide-de-camp, surprised Newry. The MacMahons seized on Castleblaney, Carrickmacross, and Monaghan, the O'Kellys took Cloghouter Castle in Cavan, the Maguires and O'Farrells overran Longford and Fermanagh, committing many murders on the first day of the outbreak. Stout Sir William Cole, however, held Enniskillen safe, sending messages off to warn Glaslogh, Clogher, and Newtownlimavaddy, as well as Londonderry; the castle of Ballygelly was garrisoned by Mr. James Shaw, and afterwards by Mr. James Cromie. Ballymena was saved by Archibald Stewart, and his Protestant tenants, with whom unhappily, as we shall hereafter see, were mingled some of the tenants and followers of the Earl of Antrim, and his cousins Allaster and James MacDonnell of the Scottish Isles. Coleraine was gallantly defended by Colonel Rowley, who sheltered there many Protestants, clergymen and laymen and women. Colonel Arthur Chichester secured Carrickfergus, into which Colonel Hill fled from his castle of Hillsborough. Colonel James Clotworthy (brother of Sir John Clotworthy, who was a member of the English Parliament), secured Antrim. Belfast and Lisburn, or Lisnagarvey, as it was then called, were saved mainly through the exertions, according to Reid, of Robert Lawson, a Derry merchant, although Con Magennis threat-

[1] Carte wrongly calls him 'old' Lord Caulfield, confounding him with his father, who died in 1640.

ened to burn Lisburn over their heads. After taking Newry, he advanced upon Dromore, and although Colonel Matthews, the governor, repulsed some of the rebels near the town, most of the inhabitants and the Protestant bishop deserted it, and eventually Magennis burned it to the ground. He then fell back on Newry, where he was joined by Sir Phelim O'Neil, who had burned and wasted the whole country through which he passed, acquiring already for himself the nickname of Phelim *a tothane*, and giving rise to a familiar saying among the Irish, that *Phelimy a tothane* had 'given them Christmas before its time.'[1] The burning houses and Protestant churches that marked his line of march seemed to the imaginative people like the flaming of their tall Christmas candles or torches, and their tables were well supplied with beef from the farms of the plundered and murdered English colonists. Reid says that when Sir Phelim O'Neil and Sir Con Magennis joined their forces at Newry, on November 4th, they issued a Proclamation and the Royal Commission under the Scotch seal, about which there has been so much disputing. He thought that the Commission now only existed in print, in old and rather scarce books, but that is a mistake. The Proclamation (which was the joint work of O'Neil and Rory Maguire, not Con Magennis), with the copy of the Commission annexed, will be found in the Armagh Book of Depositions, Trinity College, Dublin. These were evidently the copies produced on the trial of Sir Phelim before the High Court of Justice in 165$\frac{2}{3}$:—

'From Our Camp at Newry.

'Phelim O'Neil: Rory Maguire. To all Catholics of the Roman party both English and Irish in the kingdom of Ireland we wish all happiness, freedom of conscience, and victory over the English heretics, who for a long time have tyrannised over our bodies and usurped by extortion our estates. Be it hereby made known unto you, all our friends and countrymen, that the king's most excellent majesty, for many great and urgent causes him thereunto moving, imposing trust and confidence in our fidelity, hath signified unto us, by his commission under the great seal of Scotland, bearing date at Edinburgh, the 1st day of

[1] V. Depositions.

this inst. October, 1641, and also by letters under his sign manual, bearing date with the said commission, of divers great and heinous affronts, that the English Protestants, especially the English Parliament, have published against his royal prerogative, and also against his Catholic friends, within the kingdom of England, the copy of which commission we herewith send unto you, to be published with all speed in all parts of this kingdom, that you may be assured of our sufficient warrant and authority therein.'

The Commission.

'CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., to all Catholic subjects within the kingdom of Ireland, Greeting: Know ye, that We, for the safeguard and preservation of Our person, have been enforced to make our abode and residence in the kingdom of Scotland for a long season, occasioned by reason of the obstinate and disobedient carriage of the Parliament of England against Us: that hath not only presumed to take upon them the government and disposition of those princely rights and prerogatives, that have justly descended upon Us from Our predecessors, being kings and queens of the said kingdom for many hundred years past, but also have possessed themselves of the whole strength of the said kingdom, in appointing governors commanders and officers in all places therein, at their own will and pleasure, without Our consent, whereby We are deprived of Our sovereignty and are left naked without defence. And forasmuch as We are in Ourself very sensible, that these storms blow aloft and are very likely to be carried by the vehemency of the Protestant party of the kingdom of Ireland, and endanger Our Regal power and authority there also; Know Ye, that We, reposing much care and trust in your duty and obedience, which We have for many years past found, do hereby give unto you full power and authority to assemble and meet together with all the speed and diligence, that business of so great a consequence doth require, and to advise and consult together by sufficient and discreet numbers at all times, days, and places, which you shall in your judgment hold most convenient, and most for the ordering, settling and effecting the great work (illegible) and directed to you in Our letters, and to use all politic means and ways possible to possess yourselves for (illegible) and safety of all the forts, castles, and places, of strength and defence within the kingdom, except the places, persons, and estates of Our loyal and loving subjects the Scots;

also to arrest and seize the goods, estates, and persons of all the English Protestants, within the said kingdom to Our use. And in your care and speedy performance of this Our will and pleasure We shall rely on your wonted duty and allegiance to Us which We shall accept and reward in due time. Witness Ourself at Edinburgh this 1st day of October in the seventeenth year of Our reign.'

Mr. Lecky, in the second volume of his 'History of England in the 18th Century,'[1] expresses his opinion that this Commission was forged by the Ulster rebels, and he quotes the declaration of Dean Kerr, who was present at the trial and execution of O'Neil, and who stated that the judges offered him life and liberty and his estate, if he could prove that he had received the Commission from Charles, but that he denied it alike in the court of justice and on the scaffold. Mr. Lecky adds that Reid is the only modern writer of any credit who believes in the genuineness of this forged Commission, and charges him with relying too much on the authority of the writings of Mrs. Macaulay. Now, whatever may be the worth or no-worth of that lady's writings, which Reid certainly does quote, it is a total mistake to say that he is the only modern writer of credit, who believes that the Commission was genuine, or that he relies mainly on Mrs. Macaulay's history for that belief. With the characteristic caution, acuteness and thoroughness of the Scotch or Scoto-Irish student, Reid had, as any one can see who reads his note on the mystery of this Commission, examined every book of any worth dealing with the subject written between 1641 and 1825, carefully collating them, Milton, Vicars, Rushworth, Birch, Carte, Harris, Nalson, Borlase, Brodie, Godwin, and a scarce and valuable 'Impartial History of Ireland' by Philip O'Reilly, published in 1693. He tells us that it was Brodie's researches into MSS. and printed authorities which inclined him to believe in the genuineness of the Commission. They are so interesting and exhaustive that I give the note containing them from Brodie's 'History of the British Empire' at length in the Appendix.

The Rev. C. P. Meehan, in the latest edition of his 'Con-

[1] *History of Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 154, *note*.

federation of Kilkenny,' goes far beyond Mr. Lecky in his defence of Phelim O'Neil. Mr. Meehan believes that Phelim was an eminently merciful, as well as chivalrous soldier, that he had neither 'hand, act, nor part' in the burnings and massacres of 1641, and that when he 'could have saved his life and estate by a lie he scorned to purchase either at the cost of truth and honour.' But Mr. Meehan forgets that even if O'Neil did, as we may well believe (there being better evidence than Dean Kerr's to prove that he did) deny that Charles had given him the Commission, yet that by that very denial he, O'Neil, confessed that he was a liar and a forger. Now, we may pity the dying man, pitiless as he showed himself to be in his day of power, who stood thus a self-convicted forger on the scaffold, but certainly to write of his 'disdain of lies and his love of truth and honour,' liar and forger as on his own showing, and Mr. Meehan's admission he was, is foolish, to say the least of it. To Phelim O'Neil, as to the two Stuart Kings whom he professed to serve, a lie was not a lie, when it served his purpose, at worst it was only a 'skilful policy of deception,' a doing evil that good might come. Much that Mr. Hepworth Dixon has said of Charles the First in the passage already quoted, applies to O'Neil and to many other favourite servants of that King.

The grand authority with all writers (excepting such as can dispense with any authority at all but their own 'innate ideas') for the innocence of the King in the matter of the Commission, is the declaration of Dean Kerr, and as it is now by the depositions and records of the High Court of Justice hereafter printed, plainly proved to be false in the main, if not in every point, I will here notice it at more length than I otherwise would do. The Reverend John Kerr, Dean of Ardagh, according to Carte, was present at the trial and execution of Sir Phelim O'Neil, and after the Restoration he was requested by his patron and friend, Lord Lanesborough,[1] to write down and sign and seal a formal declaration of all

[1] Sir George Lane (second baronet), son of Sir Richard Lane of Tulske, Roscommon, by Mabel daughter of Gerald Fitzgerald, was Secretary of State for Ireland after the Restoration, and was raised to the peerage as Viscount Lanesborough in

that was said to have passed at both respecting the Commission. The Dean complied with his patron's wishes, and this declaration, dated February 28th, 1681, will be found in the Appendix. According to the Dean Sir Phelim confessed in open court, not only that he had forged the Commission, but that when he had taken Charlemont Castle, he had ordered a certain Michael Harrison, an English gentleman colonist of Ulster, whom he had protected from spoliation, to tear off the royal seal attached to an old patent grant amongst Lord Caulfield's family papers, and to affix it to the forged Commission. The said Harrison, the Dean added, being then examined in court, confirmed the truth of O'Neil's statement, admitting that to save his life and goods, he had torn off the old seal and affixed it to the forgery as he had been ordered to do. Now the deposition of Michael Harrison on February 12th, 1652, before Dr. Henry Jones, made for the approaching trial of Sir Phelim, is hereafter given. Harrison made another earlier deposition, which is not extant, but it could not have contained anything material about the Commission. In his second deposition, he swears that he was at Charlemont, on October 25th, with Sir Phelim, who then gave him a written passport or protection, but he makes no mention of having seen or heard anything of the Commission at that time. He returned under the protection to his house at Curren in Tyrone, and lived there with his wife and family until the first week in December, where he received a letter from Turlogh O'Neil (Sir Phelim's brother), summoning him to come to them at Dungannon, whither accordingly he went. The O'Neils then told him, that in return for the protection granted him, he must consent to act as their secretary, which for the sake of his wife and family and his own sake he consented to do. His deposition continues as to what then occurred:—

'The said Sir Phelim several times told this examinant, that he had a Commission from the King for doing what he did, but this

1674. The original declaration is not, I believe, in existence; but a copy of it is among the Carte MSS. in the Bodleian.

examinant never saw the Commission, though he often demanded the sight thereof; which Commission from the King was before the Commission, given by the Lords of the Pale to Sir Phelim. And the said Sir Phelim told him once, that the said Commission from the King was in the hands of Philip MacHugh O'Reilly, and another time he said it was in the hands of Shane O'Cahane, afterwards called Major-General, and he (this examinant) heard it commonly reported that there was such a Commission.' [1]

Thus it will be seen that Harrison's sworn deposition is in flat contradiction with the evidence which Dean Kerr alleges he heard him give in court, at the trial of O'Neil. It may be said that he swore afterwards in court, as the Dean alleges he did. If so, he Harrison confessed himself a perjurer, for in the above, he swore he had never seen the Commission at all. But Judge Lowther's notes of all the evidence Harrison gave against O'Neil and others in court are amongst the College MSS., and are hereafter printed for the first time. They do not mention one word about the seal to the Commission.

The inference from all this is plain. Dean Kerr's declaration is worthless, and his notions of truth were like those of his Sovereign, and his Sovereign's unhappy father. Brodie had never examined the depositions, or the contemporary copies of the Commission and Proclamation amongst the College MSS. But knowing that the seal attached to the Commission was beyond all question the Scotch seal, he very justly observed, that no old patent grant to the Caulfield family could have borne that seal. The seal affixed to the Caulfield grants, would undoubtedly have been the great seal of England, and the Commission bore the Scotch seal. Dean Kerr's tale therefore bore its own refutation on the face of it. Brodie further noted, that Carte having alleged that the very patent from which the seal was torn was still among the Caulfield muniments, Leland inquired for it from his friend the celebrated Earl of Charlemont, who assured him Carte was mistaken, and that no such defaced patent to his knowledge had ever existed.[2] On this Brodie sums up as follows:—

[1] V. Deposition of Michael Harrison, given in full hereafter.

[2] Brodie refers for this statement to Leland's *History*, vol. iii. p. 121; but in

'Is it within the compass of possibility that such important facts as Kerr relates acted in the face of day before a crowded court and a large assemblage should slumber until 1681? The worthy dean wished to be a bishop, and he flattered himself that such a pious fraud was laudable in such a case. Similar frauds were at that time innumerable, but the effrontery of this dean, considering the account published by authority, an account said to be attested by the confession of many, surpassed that of his contemporaries.'[1]

This is severe, but I am sorry to say that Harrison's sworn deposition, Judge Lowther's notes, and the following extract from an unpublished letter in the Dublin Public Record Office from Fleetwood and Jones to the Council of State in England, justify its severity. It is incredible that in none of these three documents, or in any other contemporary record, the removal of the seal would not have been mentioned if it had ever occurred.

Fleetwood and Jones to the Council of State, March 1652.[2]

My Lords,—By our last of the 14th of February we did acquaint your lordships of the taking of Sir Phelim O'Neil, now condemned of treason by the High Court of Justice in Dublin, at whose trial there being divers witnesses produced who affirmed in Court upon oath that he had often told them he had a Commission from the late king, for what he had acted in the rebellion, he persisting, notwithstanding, in the denial of it, this copy was presented in Court and read before him, which coming attested by a person of honest repute, we thought it our duty to transmit the copy thereof to you.'

This is the only document that I could discover in the Dublin Public Record Office bearing on the Commission. Mr. W. M. Hennessy assured me that nothing connected with the trials in the High Court of Justice existed there, and my friend Miss Rowan, with much kind help from Mr. H. C. Hamilton and

the edition which I have before me (that of 1773) no such statement appears. The publisher's Tory opinions seem to have made him eliminate it. And thus history is written! V. Brodie, vol. ii. p. 383, *note*.

[1] Brodie, vol. ii. p. 382, *note*.

[2] *Orders and Correspondence, Commonwealth Books, P. R. O. Dublin*,

Mr. Selby, searched the London Public Record Office, with a like result. No record of the proceedings of this Court exists as far as she could discover at the Bodleian. The object after the Restoration was to destroy as far as was possible every record that could illustrate the justice and good faith of the Cromwellian government. At the same time it seems to me, after a careful study of all but one of the authorities quoted by Reid, and the MSS. I could find relating to the subject, that it is quite possible that the Commission was not written, or sealed by Charles, but that either Endymion Porter, or the Earl of Antrim, or some of their co-religionists, about the King drew it up and affixed the Scotch seal to it on October 1st, the only day, as it appears from Brodie, and Mr. S. R. Gardiner's (and also, I believe, from Burton's) researches, that the seal could have been in their hands. If an old Scotch royal seal was really used, one could easily have been obtained, it is probable, at Dunluce Castle, among the MacDonnel family papers, and it was just the kind of trick that Antrim would have played. But there is not a particle of proof, now that Dean Kerr's declaration is shown to be a myth, that the seal to the Commission was not the seal in use in 1641, which up to and on October 1st was occasionally in the possession of Endymion Porter. At the same time, remembering Charles' later dealings with the Nuncio and Glamorgan; the favour he and his son showed to Phelim O'Neil; Lord Clarendon's mournful words[1] about the King's dealings with Ireland; Strafford's monstrous proposal to transport all the Scots out of Ulster, which he could have hardly entertained without the King's knowledge or approval, and his anxiety to resume the lands of the London Companies, it is quite possible that Brodie was right in believing that Charles himself issued and sealed

[1] 'I must tell you that I care not how little I say in that business of Ireland, since those strange powers and instructions to your favourite Glamorgan, which appear to me so inexcusable to justice, piety, and prudence. And I fear that there is very much in that transaction of Ireland, both before and since, that you and I were never thought wise enough to be advised with in. Oh, Mr. Secretary! those stratagems have given me more sad hours than all the misfortunes in war that have befallen the King, and look like the effects of God's anger on us.'—Clarendon's *State Papers.*

the Commission and sent it by a Catholic Irish or Scotch agent to O'Neil.

With the details of the sieges, battles, treaties, &c., of the long civil war that followed, on its promulgation at Newry on November 4th, 1641, this book is not concerned. The two great causes of that war, the ambition and greed of the rival churches, Roman and Anglican, and the unwise extension of plantations, consequent on the shameful breach of faith in the matter of the 'Graces,' having been noticed, it now only remains for us to inquire into the vexed question of the reality or non-reality of the massacres of unarmed men, women, and helpless children, in 1641–3, and to touch upon the proceedings of the High Court of Justice, established to punish those accused of committing the said massacres. The chief, if not the sole authority, for their reality are the thirty-three volumes of MS. depositions, taken before royalist or republican commissioners and magistrates between 1641 and 1654. These volumes have been carefully preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and from them the selection hereafter given has been made. For at least two centuries those depositions have been denounced by all Irish Roman Catholic historians, and by some English Protestant writers, as untrustworthy exaggerations, bearing internal evidence of their worthlessness, or else as deliberate wholesale perjuries, devised to bring about the confiscation of the lands of innocent men.

It would be the merest waste of time to notice most of those denunciations, made by persons who frankly admit that they have never examined, or even seen, the documents on which they deliver their sweeping judgments.[1] An official report on the depositions which has lately been drawn up for

[1] Thus, in a review of the last edition of the Rev. C. P. Meehan's *History of the Confederation of Kilkenny*, which appeared in the *Nation* newspaper in the course of last year, the reviewer calls the whole collection of depositions a 'heap of perjuries.' He had evidently never examined them for himself, but endeavours to make his readers believe that Mr. Lecky has done so, and has pronounced against them. It so happened that, about a week before this review appeared, I had a letter from Mr. Lecky, in which he says, that as he has never examined the depositions, his opinion on them would be 'of no value whatever.' I wish that others had imitated Mr. Lecky's candour and fairness in making this admission.

the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts,[1] by Mr. J. T. Gilbert, F.S.A., calls for more respectful and serious notice, for its own sake, and because it is swelled by long extracts from the published works of the very few historians who profess to have examined the depositions, giving their opinions upon them. I shall therefore content myself with briefly reviewing these opinions, and answering, as it is not difficult to do, the charges which Mr. Gilbert has not only in his official report, but in more than one of his published works made against the veracity of those depositions. The two trustworthy writers he has quoted in his report are Reid and the Rev. Dr. Warner, a clergyman of the Established Church in Ireland, who wrote towards the close of the last century a rather dry, but on the whole fair and candid history of his native country. Fairness and candour are much rarer qualities in an Irish historian than literary skill; and for this reason, if for no other, Warner's history will always have a certain value. He begins his account of the depositions in the following words:—

> 'They are contained in two-and-thirty large volumes and deposited in the College Library in Dublin, besides one that contains the examinations that were taken by Archdeacon Bysse, for the province of Munster, which Borlase, among his other falsehoods, says was smothered with great artifice.'

Here, at the very outset, it is needful to point out that Warner is mistaken.

However prejudiced Borlase may have been, this statement respecting the depositions taken by Bysse is founded on actual facts. Those facts have been brought to light in the present century, by a writer whom Warner, were he living, would be the last to doubt, and who is an authority even with Irish Roman Catholics. That writer was the Rev. W. Maziere Brady, D.D., a clergyman of the Anglo-Catholic or High Church school, and therefore no admirer of Borlase. Dr. Brady had no idea of confirming Borlase's statement about Bysse's collection of depositions when he gave, in his 'Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross,' the following

[1] See *Appendix to Eighth Report of Historical MSS. Commission*, p. 572.

extract from the MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin (*F.F.* 2, 19). I have compared his extract with the original and found it correct, but I prefer to give it as it stands in his book rather than from my own copy.

> 'Castle Lyons, 1631. John Eveleigh, Vicar, afterwards Chancellor, and Dean of Ross. 1641, Philip Bisse, Archdeacon of Cloyne, the name is spelt Bishe in the *Liber Munorum*. The following extract respecting him is from the MSS. in Trinity College *F.F.* 2, 19: "Richard Gethin being examined before the Commissioners on the 23rd of October, 1652, deposed that Archdeacon Philip Bisse, a Commissioner appointed to enquire concerning the murders and losses in the rebellion of 1641, was waylaid on his return between Cork and Youghal, and murdered by one Gerald of Dromadda. His trunk which contained all the depositions taken by him, was sent from his lodgings at Youghal to Lord Inchiquin, Commander-in-Chief of Munster. He took it to the King, then at Oxford, but had no opportunity to show it to his Majesty, and he left them in trust to Mr. Lott Pereigh (formerly secretary to Sir William St. Leger, late president of Munster, now deceased), whose wife and sons reside at, or near Audley End, in Cambridgeshire, where the trunk was taken care of, and as deponent believes was sent to London to Sir Philip Percival. He (the witness Gethin) thinks that Mr. Bettesworth, agent to the Protestant forces in Munster, could say something about it."'

To those who remember the state of Oxford in 1643, when Inchiquin went over with Bysse's collection of depositions, the words 'had no opportunity to show them to the King' will be full of significance, and will do much to confirm Borlase's truth, as to the artifices used to 'smother' those documents. Mr. Gilbert in the preface to Belling's *History of the Irish Catholic Confederation*, lately published, quotes passages from the examination of the Rev. John Dod, taken by a committee of the English House of Commons in 1643. Mr. Dod had spent seven weeks in Oxford, just about the time Inchiquin visited the King there, and he swore that during those weeks he saw a great number of Irish rebels in that city, amongst others one Thomas Brady of Belturbet, 'a noted rebel' was much in favour with the King's friends. Dod further swore that he

saw there three Franciscan friars—Anthony Geoghegan, Brian O'Gorman, and Thomas Nugent—and three Jesuits—Sutton, Roche, and O'Reilly—who were all 'daily encouraging the soldiers to fight against the Parliament,' that 'masses were said daily in almost every street in Oxford,' and that there were 'at least three thousand Irish there.' Many of these were Roches, FitzGeralds, Condons, MacCarthys, Longs, from Cork and Waterford, where Bysse had been murdered by a FitzGerald of Dromadda, after taking the depositions which were to deprive them of their estates, so that it is easy to understand that they would, if possible, try to 'smother' by force or 'artifice' those important documents. Inchiquin, whose mother was a FitzGerald, cousin to the murderer of Bysse, was at this time a professing Protestant, and his chief object in going to Oxford was to obtain from Charles the post of Lord President of Munster, vacant by the death of St. Leger. But to the intense wrath and disappointment of Inchiquin Charles conferred the post on Weston, Earl of Portland, one of the worst of his Jesuitized courtiers.[1] Portland knew nothing of Ireland, and never set foot in it, before or after his appointment, which was probably brought about by the Jesuit wire pullers, whose puppet he was, for the very purpose of 'cushioning' those depositions, taken by Archdeacon Bysse, and the facts of his murder. Charles was then doing all in his power to win and conciliate the Roman Catholics of Ireland and England, and it was very unlikely therefore that he would afford an 'opportunity' for the delivery of the depositions against the former to himself. If they were so delivered, he could not but authorise proceedings against the Irish, so as usual he solved the difficulty by another policy of deception, hoping they would be placed in the hands of Portland, his new Lord President of Munster. Inchiquin, however, partly from conscientious motives, partly from anger and dislike to his successful rival, did not hand over the depositions to Portland, but gave them in charge to Pereigh or Perry, the

[1] A man of 'big looks and mean and abject spirit.' He was a suspected Roman Catholic, and his wife and children open ones. His four daughters were all nuns.—V. Brodie, Burke's *Extinct Peerage*, and Clarendon's *History*.

secretary of his father-in-law St. Leger, the late president, who appears to have given them to Sir Philip Percival.[1]

Thus there can be no doubt they passed through many hands in both countries, and for a time sank out of sight before they came to be required by the Attorney-General in 1652, for the prosecution of the Munster rebels in the High Court of Justice. It was to ascertain their whereabouts at that time, that Mr. Gethin was examined as above, before the House of Commons, and it would appear that it was through his examination they were discovered; for as we shall hereafter see they were produced and closely inspected in the Court in 1652–4. Had they passed into the hands of Portland they would assuredly have been destroyed and many rebels' estates saved. Gethin was one of the executors to Inchiquin's will when he died (it is said a Roman Catholic) in 1674. The murderers of Bysse were never brought to trial. It is probable they were killed in the civil war.

After this vain attempt to dispute the truth of Borlase's statement about the Munster depositions, Warner proceeds to comment upon the whole collection in the college library :—

> 'In those books,' he says, 'besides the examinations taken by the (Royal) Commissioners, there are several copies of others, said to have been taken before them, which are therefore of no authority, and there are many taken ten years afterwards before justices of the peace appointed by the Commissioners of the English Parliament. . . . I took a great deal of pains and spent a great deal of time in examining those books; and I am sorry to say that they have been made the foundation of much more clamour and resentment than can be warranted by truth and reason. There is one circumstance not taken notice of, I perceive, by anybody before me, that though all the examinations signed by the Commissioners are said to be on oath, yet in infinitely the greater number of them the words "*being duly sworn*" have the pen drawn across them, with the same ink with which the examinations were written, and in several of these, when such words remain uncrossed, many parts of the examinations are struck out. This is a circumstance which shows that the bulk

[1] It is extremely likely that Inchiquin himself was not at all anxious to produce the Waterford depositions compromising his mother's relatives; but he could not make up his mind to destroy them, and so passed them on to Perry.

of this immense collection is parole evidence. . . . But what will put the matter out of all doubt, with impartial people, that no other examinations in these volumes are to be depended on than what are sworn is, that no other are to be found in the MS. collection in my own possession, and its duplicate in the British Museum, signed with the same signatures of the Commissioners, which I saw so often repeated in the two-and-thirty volumes in Dublin, and which is therefore as much an original as that (Dublin) collection. Here then (*i.e.* in the duplicate in the Museum) only is it that we can expect the most authentic account of the Irish Massacre, and I conceive the reason for making a duplicate collection was, to send one copy to the King and Council, and the other to the English Parliament.'

Reid, the next authority in point of credit,[1] quoted by Mr. Gilbert, differs wholly as we shall now see from Warner. After quoting the latter's words about the bulk of the depositions being 'parole evidence,' the historian of the Irish Presbyterian Church, whose candour is admitted by all Roman Catholic writers of any eminence, says:—

'Entertaining some doubts of the accuracy of this sweeping assertion of Warner's, I consulted the books of depositions in the college library, and assisted by a friend, examined a good many of the volumes, time not permitting me to go over the whole, with a view of determining this point, which was readily done, by referring to the beginning of each deposition, but we could not find a single one in which the words "*being duly sworn*" were crossed with the pen or otherwise obliterated. It is probable that some such cases do occur, but to assert, as Warner has done, that they occur in infinitely the greater number of them, is a very incorrect and exaggerated statement. It is also to be remarked, that Warner's computation (of the numbers

[1] I pass over as utterly unworthy of notice the vulgar ravings of Michael Carey, an Irish-American writer, whom Mr. Gilbert quotes at some length. Reid says he notices Carey's work, published at Philadelphia in 1819, only 'on account of its flagrant demerits as a work of historical inquiry.' It is, he says, a mere echo of John Curry, but more partial and disingenuous than that Irish writer. Any one who has read Curry's account of the death of the great rebel Earl of Desmond will see that that so-called historian is not only partial, but ridiculously ignorant of what he professes to know most about. Mr. Gilbert also gives long extracts from Curry in his official report, while he omits the candid admission of the Rev. Dr. O'Connor, a Roman Catholic ecclesiastic, that the Irish Catholics in 1641 'committed atrocious crimes.'—V. Reid, vol. i. p. 314.

massacred) is founded not on the depositions whose authority he so rashly impugned, but upon a copy of a part of them in his own possession, all of which were duly sworn and authenticated by the Commissioners. A duplicate of this copy he states was deposited among the MSS. in the British Museum. This volume I found out, and carefully examined. It is No. 5,999, vol. iii. of the Harleian MSS. It is marked "*Original. Received at the Board* 10th Nov. 1643," and corresponds with the description given by Warner of his own copy. But I found it to contain only extracts from no more than about 200 depositions. . . . It is therefore quite impossible, that a correct enumeration of the number who perished could be furnished from any examination of these extracts. They could furnish the inquirer with only a portion of the murders perpetrated, the full catalogue of which was not completed until ten years afterwards, when the republican authorities renewed the inquiry by appointing commissioners for the purpose. These commissioners took a vast number of additional and most important depositions, and they bound over the several deponents to appear at the subsequent assizes for each county, to prosecute such of the most noted of the murderers as could be then found—a circumstance which renders these depositions, taken with the view of being afterwards repeated, on a public trial for a capital offence, and at a time when party feeling had in a great measure subsided, of more value than the depositions contained in the Harleian and Warner MSS., which were taken at the very hottest period of the rebellion, and without any view of being subjected to the ordeal of examination at a public trial. The greater part of the thirty-two volumes in Trinity College is composed of those valuable supplementary depositions. I perused with some care the entire volume marked "Antrim," and all the depositions contained in it relative to the rebellion were taken before the parliamentary commissioners in 1653, by whom, let it be observed, a fact not generally known, the retaliatory murders alleged to have been committed on the Irish at Island Magee, and other places, are as clearly and impartially investigated as the original massacres by the Roman Catholics.'—*Hist. Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, vol. i. p. 327, *note*.

Reid is the only historian who has called attention to the fact, that the Cromwellians prosecuted the murderers of the Catholics at Island Magee. Mr. Gilbert's report wholly ignores it, as well as the murder of Archdeacon Bysse. After

quoting part of the above passage from Reid, Mr. Gilbert observes:—

> 'Had Dr. Reid examined the entire collection, as has been done (*sic*), for the purposes of this report, he would have found that Warner's statement was in the main correct. "Innumerable instances" occur in which not only the words "*duly sworn and examined*" have been struck out, but also many passages, in some cases entire pages, have been so dealt with. Of this a notable example is furnished by the volume for the county Waterford, in which few pages can be found that are not thus cancelled.'

Reid, engaged as he was in writing a long history of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, involving tedious researches into ecclesiastical records, could not possibly have found time for an exhaustive study of the depositions in the College, but so far as he did study them, he displayed all that accuracy and thoroughness which, as I have said, characterised his work in every department of history. It is much to be regretted that he and some fair-minded Roman Catholic layman were not employed by the government of their day to calendar and arrange the depositions. Warner tells us he 'took much pains and spent much time in examining them,' but, as we shall see, never were time and pains more wasted. The strangest, the most incomprehensible thing, however, is, that Mr. Gilbert, F.S.A., accredited with such talents for research by the Government and the public, sitting down to make an exhaustive search into those documents for the purposes of an official report, should have accepted and done his best to make the world accept the gross mistakes of Warner for truth.

When, with the kind permission of the College authorities, I first opened the books of depositions in the summer of 1881, I had no intention of copying them for publication, and therefore turned over the leaves hastily, reading only a few here and there. As I did so, the number of crossed-out words and passages in the Munster volumes especially, made such an impression upon me, that I felt it would be a waste of time to read them, and judged that, as Warner had said, the bulk of the collection must be parole evidence of little or no value. I

Joseph Scott late of Killinure ~~in the p[ar]ish of Murragh Barony of Kinalmeaka county of Cork~~ Chaundler ~~duly sworne & exam[in]ed before us by vertue &c deposeth & sayth~~, yt about the 1st of Jan. last past & since the beginning of this Rebellion he lost was robbed & forceably dispoyled of his goods & chattells to the ~~seuerall values following, viz[t]~~ value of £ 447 ffor[ty]

~~Of Cowes horses & ffoale to the value of eighty five pounds ten shill:~~ Of household stuffe to the value of twenty pounds Of Implem[en]ts of husbandry to the value of Thirty shill: He also sayth yt he ~~was~~ hath lost the benefit of a lease of Killenure aforsd wherein he had a terme of fourscore yeares yet unexpired worth comitj annis ten pounds & and about the Landlos rent in wch he conceives himselfe damnifyed to the value of one hundred pounds also the benefit of another lease neere Muff towne wherein he had a terme of one & twenty yeares worth comitj annis twenty pounds over & about the Landlos rent in wch he conceives himselfe damnifyed to the value of Six score pownds, also of another lease in the p[ar]ish of Kilpeurry wherein he had a terme of twenty foure yeares yet to come worth comitj annis about the Landlos rent fourty pownds sterl: wherein he conceives himselfe damnifyed to the value of fifty powndes & also lost fourty all acres of oates elsewhere to the value of fourty pounds. the ~~totall of his losses amounts to the some of fower hundred and fourty fourty pounds sterl~~: He sayth yt he was robd by the rebells whose names he knoweth not; he sayth yt one Samuell Bysshop of the Gagan in the baroney of Kinalmeaka aforsd was ~~slaine~~ with a Skeane & then shot & then was hanged afterwards at Kilcrea by the rebells about the middle of August last and ~~murthered~~ he also sayth yt one Richard Addis of Dandon bridge Shoe maker and Henry Churchfield of the same Joyner were strip[t] & murdered most cruelly by the rebells about the 14th of August neere Carkenash Castle & further he ~~cannot depose~~.

Joseph Scottes

Jurat coram nobis 20th of Sept. 1642.

Thos. Grayes Dec: Phil. Bisse.

at the same time came before us Humphrey Wood of Killenure aforsd Joyner and upon examinacon tooke his oathe yt the Examinacon of Joseph Scott was true in all ptic[u]lars.

Humfrey Wood

Jurat coram nobis 21 of Sept. 1642.

Thos. Grayes Dec:
Phil. Bisse.

also noticed that, as he said, there were many copies of depositions, in some of the volumes, which could not be worth much. But the fact that the crossing out strokes drawn over the words '*duly sworn*' at the beginning of many depositions, and over whole passages and pages in some, were so light as to leave every word beneath them perfectly legible, arrested my attention and puzzled me. If misstatements or mistakes had been made in such documents, it seemed unlikely they would have been left open to inspection in this way. For it was quite evident the strokes had been drawn in all cases, so lightly, with the design of not obliterating a word or a cypher. I also plainly perceived, but not until after a close inspection with the help of magnifying glasses (indispensable in such researches), that those crossing out strokes were of later date by some weeks, or even months, than the lines beneath them. Then, remembering the book of duplicate extracts in the British Museum library, referred to by Warner and Reid, which I had examined (and in part copied nine years before), I began to suspect that all those crossing out strokes in the Dublin books had been made, not for the purpose of cancelling or altering the depositions, which would, of course, amount to an invalidating of them, but for the simple purpose of abridging them for the official copyist, who was employed to make the duplicate extracts.

To ascertain if this suspicion of mine were correct, I read steadily on for many days the crossed out passages as well as the uncrossed ones, collating them carefully with my copies of the duplicates in the Museum book, and by degrees I satisfied myself that it was entirely so. Those crossing out strokes, about which so much fuss has been made, are not as Warner and Mr. Gilbert and even Reid have supposed cancellings—they are nothing more than lines drawn to show the official copyist what he might omit, when he was making the duplicate books for the King and Parliament. In some instances they are, as we shall see by indisputable evidence to be given hereafter, marks of abridgment made by the official in charge of the depositions, who had to deliver the volume of Archdeacon Bysse's collections from Waterford and Cork, to the

Attorney-General for production in the High Court of Justice in 1652–4, when some of the rebels in those counties were being tried on charges of murder.[1] The depositions were useful as evidence of murder, because in no case has the pen stroke been drawn across the relation of a murder or massacre. The said official, Mr. Waring, when examined in court, swore that he had crossed out no such relations, but only passages relating to losses of money, lands, and goods. And in every single case where the words 'duly sworn and examined' have been crossed out, by a light pen stroke at the beginning of a deposition, the more emphatic Latin equivalent '*Jurat coram nobis*' (sworn before us) stands clear and intact at the end above the signatures of two or more Commissioners, and opposite the signature or mark of the witness, proving beyond all question that the document is sworn and valid. Distrusting my own judgment, I asked more than one lawyer and magistrate, and was assured by them that the Latin form above the signatures of the magistrates or Commissioners stamped the deposition as sworn. The error of Warner was that when he saw the words 'being duly sworn' crossed out at the beginning, he gave up reading further, thinking the whole document must be mere parole evidence. Had he read to the end, he would have found his mistake.

Now, as regards the long passages in the body of the depositions, sometimes covering three or four pages, over which the pen strokes have been lightly drawn, it is necessary to remember that the Commissioners were authorised to take sworn evidence, not alone as to murders, but as to spoliations, robberies, burnings, &c. Mr. Gilbert suggests that the fact of the deponents giving evidence of their losses of houses, lands, goods, cattle, clothes, &c., as well as of the murders of their husbands, wives, parents, or other relatives, renders the whole evidence untrustworthy. In many parts of Ireland at the present day a boycotted farmer's cows or horses are mutilated, his hay or corn burnt by a party of 'moonlighters,' who then drag him out of bed and shoot him before his wife's

[1] V. Notes of proceedings in the High Court of Justice. Trial of Lord Muskerry.

eyes. According to Mr. Gilbert's reasoning (?), if the unfortunate widow comes forward to claim compensation from the parish or barony for her cows and corn, her evidence as to the murder must be rejected as worthless. To such extraordinary and absurd shifts are the assailants of these depositions driven to make good a 'case' against them. Fortunately for all classes in this country judges and magistrates are not likely to adopt Mr. Gilbert's suggestions.

The unfortunate deponents in 1641–4 swore not only as to the murders and massacres which they had seen committed, but also swore as to the losses they had sustained, mentioning in detail the houses, lands, leases, rents, cows, horses, sheep, swine, hay, corn, farming implements, furniture, clothes (some of them were left without a shred of clothing, when they were turned out in the frost and snow), of which they had been deprived, assigning to every item of their property its real or supposed money value. The reading of those long and minute inventories was and is extremely tiresome, not to be undertaken unless there was a special necessity for it. The officials of 1641–4 thought so, and therefore, when the duplicate extracts for the King, council, and English Parliament, were about to be made, evidently what they did was this. They took each deposition sworn before the royal Commissioners, or magistrates, and drew the pen first across the words 'being duly sworn,' to avoid cumbersome tautology, and then across the long inventories, at the same time carefully 'totting' up the specified values of each article, or piece of property, or animal, as it was set down in money, and interlining the sum total just at the end of the crossed out inventory. The copyist then set to work and made an accurate copy of the whole deposition, excepting the passages over which the light strokes had been drawn, and carefully put in the sum total instead of the long items. Wishing to ascertain whether this sum total was correct, I was at pains to add up all the items in many of the depositions, and found it was so.

The reason that so many crossed out passages appear in the Cork, Kerry, Waterford, and Limerick depositions is plain enough. In those counties there had been few, in fact no

plantations under the Stuart Kings—they were peopled by the old Irish and Anglo-Irish FitzGeralds, Roches, MacCarthys, O'Sullivans, &c., and a good sprinkling of Elizabethan colonists, who had intermarried with these. The massacres therefore were very few, but the plunderings of the rich farms in Cork, Waterford, and that portion of Limerick called the Golden Vale, enormous. As I have already said, it is only the relations of plunderings and spoliations that are crossed over, and therefore in the volumes which contain most of these relations the crossed out passages are most numerous. In many of them three-quarters of a page or more are crossed out, leaving perhaps only four or five lines relating a murder intact, in others the pen strokes are drawn over inventories covering five or six pages.[1] I have hereafter given copies of some of those depositions in which the crossings out occur, which may answer as specimens of many hundreds in the Munster volumes. In the Antrim books very few crossed out passages appear, because the depositions in them were taken by the Parliamentary Commissioners in 1652–3, and no duplicate copies of those seem ever to have been made for transmission to England. It was those Ulster volumes that Reid chiefly examined, which accounts for his saying that he found very few crossings out in them.

As regards Warner's assertion that many of the thirty-two volumes contain copies of depositions which can be of no value, it is in a certain sense quite true. But here again his examination has been strangely superficial and hasty. In some of the volumes the first eight or a dozen pages are filled with copies, certified or uncertified, and turning them over one is inclined to go no further. But if we examine these volumes closely, page by page, to the end, we shall find that they contain the originals of nearly all these copies, as well as other originals, of which no copies seem to have been taken. It is very convenient to the searcher to have the copies and originals

[1] The deposition relating to the plundering of Castletown, the residence of the Waller family, is curious, from the long lists of furniture it contains, with the value affixed to each article, from the bedrooms to the scullery. In this case five or six pages are crossed out.

thus together, in the same volume, as they can be collated, but in some of the volumes the two are bound up together confusedly, and it is not easy to bring them together for that purpose. In other cases the originals and copies are in separate volumes. There is no index, the paging is not accurate, so that to arrive at anything like a fair knowledge of the whole collection, one must spend many months over it, working on an average five or six hours each day. I spent from six to eight months over the books in Dublin and the British Museum, and yet I felt I had not done the work as thoroughly as I wished to do it. I am inclined to think that in the whole thirty-two volumes there are not more than a hundred or a hundred and fifty copies wanting originals. I doubt that there are so many.

Having disposed of the more serious charges made against the depositions, I will now briefly notice others, made quite as seriously by the critics, but certainly, I venture to remark, in themselves the very reverse of serious, rather, on the contrary, strangely inconsistent and absurd. I will set them down in due order, and answer them *seriatim*.

1st. The Royal Commissioners who took the earlier depositions were men of no special eminence in the Church.

2nd. The deponents, or most of them, at least, were farmers, tradesmen, servants, and labourers.

3rd. Some of the deponents could not speak English, and were examined through an interpreter, who *may* have misrepresented what they said.

4th. The depositions of a few persons contain stories of apparitions, omens, &c., which they heard of, or supposed they had seen.

5th. The Commissioners were bigots, who described the insurrection of the Irish in 1641 as 'a combination of a bloody and anti-Christian plot against the Church and State in England, meant to extirpate Protestantism and those who professed it.'

In answer to the first charge, it is only necessary to say that Dean Jones and Archdeacon Bysse were men of good position and family, as well as dignitaries of the Church, and

that the rest of the Royal Commissioners were resident vicars, or curates of county parishes, intimately acquainted with the sufferings of their flocks. It was much wiser to select such men rather than eminent bishops or pluralist rectors, little acquainted with the country or the people, and if such had been selected, the selection would have been made a charge against the Commission. I would also ask whether, if a number of poor Roman Catholics were murdered to-morrow, by a number of ill-conditioned Protestants in Ulster or Connaught, and that the parish priest of the former or his curate came forward to witness to the outrages on his flock, would his evidence be rejected by the impugners of the veracity of the Commissioners of 1641, because he, the Roman Catholic pastor, was a man of no 'special eminence' in his Church?

To charge the second, I answer that it was inevitable that the vast majority of the deponents should be persons of the humbler classes. The few Protestant noblemen and gentlemen of high position in the country, although they suffered much, when their castles or mansions were besieged, were themselves comparatively safe. Some of them, however, like Lord Caulfield, Mr. Champion, and Mr. Blaney,[1] were murdered in a most cruel and treacherous manner, but the majority were prized as hostages, when they were made prisoners, and the whole tone of feeling prevalent in the Roman Catholic and Cavalier High Church party inclined them to favour rank and wealth, and to think little of the sufferings of the 'common sort' of either creed or island. The humble Protestants, farmers, yeomen, traders, artisans and labourers, living with their families in small country towns or villages, or in lonely farm-houses, were the real sufferers by the rebellion. To assert, as Mr. Gilbert does, that because they were not rich and noble, their evidence is untrustworthy, is monstrously unjust and foolish. And in proof of the injustice and folly of such a line of argument, I may here note that the only depositions (with one exception) I could find, which were unmistakeably exaggerated and untruthful, were two or three made by gentlemen of good position. One of these gentlemen, who held

[1] V. Deposition XXIV.

the office of High Sheriff in a northern county, swore that Irishwomen were in the habit of not only murdering helpless Protestants, but eating them, not from hunger, but from sheer depravity of taste, and he adds, that 'one very fat' Irishwoman who was brought before him, as a magistrate, charged with murdering and robbing such persons, owed her plumpness to the abundance of this horrible food. Two other gentlemen named Redfern made a long deposition, evidently a strange mixture of truth and exaggerated nonsense, but care was taken to sift it closely, and the deposition of Lady Staples of Lissan shows that certain portions of it were true. One poor, ignorant, Protestant woman swore that she was told by her neighbours, Irish Catholics and English Protestants, that Colonel Manus O'Cahane, a commander in the rebel army (unquestionably a cruel and fierce fanatic), was in the habit of breakfasting on the heads of murdered Protestants! Her Catholic neighbours probably told her this absurd tale to amuse themselves with her fear and horror, and frighten her out of the little wits she ever possessed. But without adopting Thomas Carlyle's estimate of the number of fools in these islands at any given time, one can well understand that amongst a thousand or fifteen hundred deponents, who had lived through the horrors of 1641–2, there would inevitably be a few weak-minded, ignorant persons who swallowed all manner of exaggerated tales and boastings of the Irish peasants, and mixed those tales up with true relations of what they had actually seen for themselves. Such depositions must be accepted with great caution, and only after they have been carefully collated, with others of a more trustworthy kind. Borlase and Temple have greatly injured the cause they professed to defend by printing garbled extracts from many depositions, some of them not trustworthy throughout.

As regards the third charge in the above series, the only deponents (with the exception of half a dozen, who gave very short and unimportant evidence about affairs at Dunluce Castle in 1641) that were examined through an interpreter, because they could not speak English, were the poor Catholic Irish of Island Magee, and its neighbourhood, who witnessed

against Protestant murderers. Mr. Gilbert, and the Roman Catholic historians who think with him about the depositions, and who have studiously concealed the fact that those Catholics were examined by the Cromwellians in order to prosecute and punish the Protestant murderers, will hardly venture, now that those examinations are made public, to censure the Cromwellians for taking them in the only way it was possible to take them, through an interpreter.

For the fourth charge, it will be seen by any one who reads the depositions with common care, that the stories of apparitions, haunting Portadown river and other places where terrible massacres were committed, originated, not with the Protestant deponents, but with the Irish Roman Catholic people themselves. Of the few deponents who repeat those tales, only one lady, Mrs. Rose Price,[1] whose deposition is hereafter given, alleges that she saw a spectral figure late one winter evening wailing in the river, where her five little children and friends had been drowned a few days before. Her mind and heart, racked with grief and horror, and the superstitious tales of the Irish living near the place, probably conjured up this vision of which she had so often heard. But there is a yet more probable explanation of the supposed spectre or banshee. A hundred persons or more, men, women and children, were drowned at one time at Portadown by the Irish. The supposed spectre, which appeared there a few evenings later, may well have been a poor, forlorn, bereaved woman, who stole from the woods or mountains (where she had been hiding since her children or friends were drowned), to wail over their corpses, sunk in the river or washed down in its currents to the ocean. In the dark winter evening this distracted and solitary mourner holding that mournful 'Wake of the Absent,'[2] described in Gerald Griffin's pathetic poem, would have appeared to poor Mrs. Price and to others in that superstitious age and wasted and troubled land a visitor from another world. And as to the cries and howlings heard at Portadown bridge at night, they are still more easily explained. The country was full of

[1] V. Depositions X. XI. XII. XVII.

[2] V. Book of Irish Ballads by D. F. MacCarthy, p. 76.

wolves and probably of dogs, starved out of the waste homes of their murdered or banished masters, and many of these animals were certain to come at night to devour the bodies of the murdered, quarrelling and howling over them. Superstition would magnify and transform all these sights and sounds. But because the deponents in 1641 (when even highly educated men believed in witches and apparitions) repeated superstitious tales, or believed in them, is surely no reason for rejecting their testimony on other matters, especially when it is confirmed by the depositions of many who appear to have been wholly free from superstition. At the present day numbers of the Irish people believe in the existence of ghosts and fairies and in apparitions like that alleged to have been seen at Knock in Connaught, a few years ago. Yet surely no judge, magistrate, or jury would say that, because a man or woman believed in such things, his or her evidence in a court of justice on a trial for murder or robbery must necessarily be worthless.[1]

The fifth charge of the series—that the Commissioners were bigots because they believed that one of the main, if not the main cause of the war, was a desire to destroy Protestants, and extirpate Protestantism—is sufficiently answered by the proclamation of Sir Phelim himself, and the open declarations of his followers, as well as the letters of the Nuncio. On the very first day of the rebellion, as Mr. Flack's deposition before mentioned shows, the Irish Catholics stamping on his open Bible, laid open in a puddle, said, 'It is this book, plague on it! which has bred all this trouble!' Lady Brown's testimony, also before referred to, that the Lord Castleconnel promised her restitution of her lands and goods if she would go to mass, and assured her that none but Catholics should be allowed 'to hold a foot of land' in Ireland, shows equally well the

[1] One of the spies sent to look up Tyrone's movements on the Continent wrote a long letter in 1610, in which he says: 'The Irish pray to God night and day for the confusion and overthrow of Sir Robert Cecil, thinking him to be the only fount of all their misery, and not only that, but that he is inspired by an evil spirit that foretells him all things. They further say Scotland is full of the black art, and that the Scots are the wickedest nation in Christendom.'—*MSS. Rolls House.*

mainsprings of the rebellion. The Commissioners must have been deaf and blind as stones if they did not see and know that the chief conspirators (amongst whom there was not one Protestant) and their immediate followers under Eiver Mac-Mahon, the militant bishop of Clogher, had plotted to extirpate Protestantism from Ireland. If it be said that some of them afterwards consented to fight under Ormond, I answer that they did so only because they expected and believed that Ormond was likely to become a Roman Catholic. They told him their expectations, and when those expectations were disappointed, and it became plain he would not leave the Church of England, almost every Irish Catholic, Colonel Walter Plunket, and Lord Muskerry, with a very few others excepted, fell away from him, saying for themselves and their soldiers that though their courage was 'bullet proof,' it was not 'excommunication proof.' They would and could not stand against the excommunications and the nailing of the chapel doors against them. Even for the time that Muskerry and Plunket adhered to Ormond, they had to pay a severe penalty at home and abroad. The former's speech, after his sentence in the High Court of Justice in 1653 hereafter given, shows that his sufferings under the Cromwellians were not exceeded by those he underwent at the hands of his bigoted co-religionists in Spain. In fact he thanked his judges in the High Court for showing him the mercy denied him by his own.[1]

I venture to hope I have sufficiently answered the above string of objections against the depositions. One more made by Mr. Gilbert in his report, when he treats of the case of Henry O'Neil of Glasdromin in the Fewes, will be fully answered hereafter in the notes to the depositions, in which his name occurs. I must not omit, however, to notice here a most singular piece of evidence, brought forward against the Protestant clergymen of Ireland in 1641–9 by Mr. Gilbert in his preface to Belling's 'History of the Irish Catholic Confederation,' or as Mr. Gilbert calls it the Irish Confederation, whereas it only comprehended the third part of the Irish nation, if so much. Amongst the old records of the Catholic family

[1] See Notes of Proceedings in High Court of Justice.

of Blundell, in Lancashire, Mr. Gilbert found the following note :—

> 'An English parson that lived in Ireland told me, that one of his own coat born in Wirral in Cheshire and beneficed in Ireland, killed with his own hands one Sunday morning, fifty-three of his own parishioners, most or all of them as I remember women and children. This was told me at Chester, A.D. 1644, in the hearing of Mr. Ralph Bridoke, chaplain to the Earl of Derby.'

All that is wanted to perfect this tale is to add that this Anglo-Irish pluralist of murder breakfasted, like Colonel O'Cahane, on the 'one Sunday morning' (a weekday would be too commonplace) on the heads of his fifty-three victims. Mr. Gilbert, who will not accept a duly certified copy of a deposition against an Irish rebel, lay or clerical, or even an original deposition with the very smallest appearance of a flaw in it—a very gnat of a flaw—swallows wholesale this enormous camel of the anonymous English parson's, borrowed from one who borrowed from another. I fear that this English parson, if he ever existed, was, when he told the anonymous writer of the note this outrageous fiction, in one of those mad fits to which the scholastic 'brother Martin,' as Dean Swift confesses, is often liable. It is a pity that Mr. Gilbert, who has done good service to historical literature by publishing many valuable historical records, as well as by writing an extremely interesting history of Dublin, should occupy his pages with such miserable nonsense as this extract from the Blundell family papers.

Fanaticism and party spirit, happily for the world, help by their exaggerations to defeat the object they have at heart. Critics have pronounced those depositions a 'heap of perjuries,' without ever having examined them, and educated and clever men, like Edmund Burke, 'who to party gave up what was meant for mankind,' and while he declaimed with all the brilliant and insincere eloquence of the Irish orator on the iniquity of the penal laws, took care to hold fast the estate of his Catholic relatives the Nagles, acquired by his father under a trust lease to evade those laws, have not hesitated to join in

the pronouncements of those ignorant critics. But the intelligent and impartial minded student of those depositions will not be sorry to find that they are not at all so unfavourable to the Irish Roman Catholics as fanatics and party politicians would have us to believe. The deposition of Mrs. Price, already mentioned, which has been especially attacked by ignorant critics, because it told the truth about the Portadown massacre, and the O'Cahanes, bears a pleasing testimony to the merciful way in which Owen Roe O'Neil treated her and a crowd of other prisoners, and to his denunciation of Sir Phelim's cruelty and violence. In like manner, the Rev. John Kerdiffe, a Protestant clergyman, relating how he and his parishioners were made prisoners by the Irish under Colonel Richard Plunket, accompanied by an Irish friar named Malone, says:—

> 'Colonel Richard Plunket treated us with great humanity and in like manner did Friar Malone at Skerry; only this, beside his rebellion, was condemnable in him, that he took our poor men's Bibles which he found in a boat and cut them in pieces, casting them into the fire, with these words, that he would deal in like manner with all Protestant and Puritan Bibles.'

Sir John Temple's garbled extract[1] from this deposition omits all mention of Friar Malone's 'great humanity' to the prisoners, saying only that he burnt the Protestant Bibles. Such instances of kindness on the part of priests and friars were rare, but on that very account it is the more necessary to mention them. They were not overlooked by Cromwell, who specially exempted from banishment or death two friars, who at Cashel had endeavoured to save the lives of the Protestants. One, Daniel Bawn, an Irish Catholic, saved a few lives at Corbridge and elsewhere, as the deponents gratefully record, and they also mention that the priest Crelly, or Crowley, whom Con Magennis appointed to govern Newry, treated many Protestants kindly. But for such gleams of good breaking forth from either side, now and again, those sad chronicles of 1641–9 would be

[1] V. Deposition XVII. The abstracts of depositions given by Sir John Temple are many of them thus garbled, and some are wholly untrustworthy.

intolerably distressing to read. But the truthfulness of the Protestant witnesses, who are so careful to record the good, as well as the bad treatment they met with, cannot be doubted.

Those who believe that a general massacre of all the Protestants in Ireland began on October 23rd, and those who believe that no massacres took place, in Ulster until December or January, will find no support for their beliefs in the depositions. The latter are fond of quoting a letter of old Lord Chichester's from Belfast to the King, written on October 24th, in which the writer says that up to that date the rebels 'had killed only one man.' But surely many Protestants might have been murdered in different parts of Ulster before Lord Chichester wrote, unknown to him or his neighbours in Belfast. That they were so murdered in parts of Fermanagh we know. On the morning of the 23rd, before ever Lord Chichester put pen to paper, a party of the Maguires murdered[1] Mr. Champion, a gentleman of good estate in that county, together with six of his friends at his own gate, alleging that Lord Maguire had given them special directions to murder him. On the 24th, the day Lord Chichester wrote to the King, they cut the throat of the husband of Margaret Larmenie[2] of Clounish in Fermanagh, before her face, and soon after murdered fourteen other Protestants in the same place. On the same day they murdered Mr. Adams, the Protestant rector of Waterdrum, in Fermanagh, his brother-in-law, and several of his parishioners, among them Joseph Berry, a man eighty years old, and Sarah, the wife of George Brent, with her unborn child. They wounded Mrs. Adams and her daughter, and stripped them of all they possessed. On October 23rd the Rev. Mr. Mather, of Donamore in Tyrone, was murdered by his own servant, who then became a soldier under Sir Phelim O'Neil. On the 26th the rebels murdered Thomas Loisanie, Francis Hillard, John Craven, and his son (as they were flying from Markane in Fermanagh to Dublin), calling them 'English dogs!' and telling them they should 'go no farther to carry news to England.'

[1] V. Deposition III. [2] V. Deposition II.

The sufferings of the fugitives in the bitter frost and snow of an early winter were extreme. Thomas Richardson of Newry, a tailor, deposed on oath that after Con Magennis had taken that town, all the English Protestants who were not put to death were stripped of their goods and clothes, and driven out. His deposition continues:—

> 'Whereupon this deponent and his wife and five small children, going away, were again stripped of their clothes (which they had begged) and flying away naked for safety in the frost and snow, one poor daughter of his, seeing him and her mother grieve and cry for their misery, she in the way comforting them, said, she was not cold, nor did cry, yet presently after she died of cold and want.'

Another Newry witness swore that when the Protestant fugitives, after being wounded and stripped, 'would call upon God Almighty to help them, the rebels would in a most scornful, contemptuous manner say to the distressed company, '*Call upon your God, and see if He can save you!*' and speak other profane words; the women being more cruel and scornful than the men, swearing and vowing they would kill all of the English kind.' (See Deposition lxxxvi.) Lady Staples[1] (the wife of Sir Thomas Staples), of Lissan, who was taken prisoner by the O'Quins, after they had seized on Moneymore in October 1641, swore that, 'looking out of the window of her prison, she saw a poor Scotchwoman and her five small children, mentioned in the deposition of John Redfern the elder, with several others of the British, driven along by the rebels to be murdered, who 'cut and slashed' them, as they passed by her window, amongst them being one Archy Laggan, miserably cut, his arms half cut off, his head cut, one of his ears half cut off, and hanging down, besides several other grievous wounds, insomuch that she heard him cry out and beg of the rebels for 'God's sake to give him leave to lie down and die!'

William Clark of Killulta swore that he with sixty other Protestants was imprisoned in the Church of Loughgall, and from thence taken by Manus Roe O'Cahane and his followers

[1] V. Deposition XXI.

to Portadown Bridge, that on their way thither other Protestant prisoners were brought in, and that the Rev. Mr. Fullarton, Minister of Loughgall, and a Mr. Gladwith, were killed before they reached the bridge. About a hundred reached it alive, and these, with the exception of Clark, one William Taylor, George Morris, Taylor's mother and little brother, were all flung over the bridge and drowned. When some of the miserable creatures in the water attempted to swim to the shore, O'Cahane's followers put out in boats on the river and knocked them on the head with their oars, clubs, and guns until all had perished.[1] Clark purchased his life with a bribe of 15*l.*, equivalent to perhaps to 150*l.* or 180*l.* at the present day. We are not told how Taylor and Morris managed to escape, but Mrs. Taylor, who was *enceinte*, and her little boy of five, had but a brief respite, for they were flung into the Tollwater at Glenarm a day or two after the Portadown massacre; the mother scrambled to the shore and died that night with her newly-born baby, the little boy of five sank and was drowned.[2]

The O'Cahanes and MacKennas, with some of the O'Hanlons and O'Neils, were the chief actors in this atrocious massacre, which took place in November or December 1641. Clark swore that the rebels told him it was perpetrated by Sir Phelim's orders. Joan Constable of Dromaddagh, in Armagh, swore that her husband was murdered by the O'Hanlons under Manus O'Cahane. Shane O'Hanlon boasted in her presence and in the presence of a priest named O'Corr, that he had helped to drown Mrs. James Maxwell,who was *enceinte*. The revolting details of this murder are given in more than one deposition. Mrs. Constable adds that the priest O'Corr rebuked O'Hanlon, and told him that the blood of that innocent child would cry to heaven for vengeance. James Maxwell, himself brother to the rector of Tynan, was dragged out of his bed, where he lay ill of fever, and cruelly murdered. He had been an intimate friend of Sir Phelim, and had lent him a considerable sum of money, and the debt, as the Rev. Robert Maxwell says in his deposition, was thus settled. One of the

[1] V. Deposition XI. [2] V. Deposition XII.

O'Hanlon sept has been made a kind of hero of romance by modern Irish writers on the Tories or Rapparees of the seventeenth century, but no punishment could have been too heavy for the base and ferocious murders perpetrated by this sept in 1641. They justly forfeited everything when the day of reckoning came about. Some of the O'Quins and O'Cahanes were nearly as merciless as the O'Hanlons.

On December 24th, 1641, the castle of Tully, held by Captain Hume, surrendered, on promise of quarter, to Rory Maguire and his followers.[1] But as soon as it was taken all within it, seventy-nine in number, the Hume family, consisting of Lady Hume and her two sons and their servant, one Grier only excepted, were mercilessly stripped and murdered. At Kinard Castle, or House, where Sir Phelim resided, his English Protestant tenants and servants were plundered and harassed, but their lives were spared until about Christmas, when they were all murdered in their beds at night. Mrs. Boswell, an Englishwoman who had nursed a child of Sir Phelim's, and had been sent for by him to come from London to live at Kinard, was amongst the murdered, her body left on her doorstep, her husband's flung into a well in his garden, and their infant child, with a skean sticking in its heart, was thrown on a turf stack.[2]

In the first week of December, 1641, Longford Castle surrendered on written articles of quarter to the O'Farrells, and other Irish who had besieged it for some time. The quarter was shamefully broken. Mr. Martin, a merchant, was murdered with his infant child before his wife's face.[3] Mrs. Trafford's husband, a clergyman, was also murdered in her presence. Her deposition, with Mrs. Martin's, will be found in full hereafter. About the same time Lisgoole Castle in Fermanagh, garrisoned by a Mr. Segrave, was burnt by the Maguires, when about eighty Protestants, men, women, and children, perished in the flames.

[1] Sir John Temple says that all in Tully Castle were murdered, but Captain Hume's deposition hereafter given shows that he and his family and Grier were spared.

[2] V. Deposition XXII.

[3] V. Deposition XCVI.

All these frightful massacres and murders, and many more, including those at Lurgan, witnessed to by Sir William Brownlow, took place before Christmas, 1641, with little or no retaliation on the part of the Ulster Protestants. The suddenness of the attack had stunned and well-nigh paralysed them; the publication of the royal commission seemed to leave the English portion of them without support or defence, and the Scots had no ammunition to defend themselves if attacked, but at first they were spared to create a division favourable to the purposes of O'Neil. About and after Christmas, they too began to suffer, and then their old motto, *Nemo me impune lacessit*, vindicated itself.

Many years ago Leland said that the massacre of the Catholic Irish at Island Magee did not take place, as some Irish writers had stated, in November, 1641, but in the beginning of the following January, 1642 (N.S.). Yet the stale falsehood has been again and again repeated by later Irish writers, who have magnified the scores murdered in the island into thousands, and have boldly asserted that those murders were the cause of all the massacres of Protestants between November and Christmas, 1641. The depositions of the Magee relatives of the murdered people, hereafter given, will convince all who are worth convincing that Leland was right, and that this cruel massacre in Island Magee was a retaliation for innumerable massacres of Protestants, which had been going on in different parts of Ulster from October 23rd until January 3rd, 1642. It was also a special retaliation for the treacherous massacre of a number of Scotch Protestant soldiers, which took place on the night of January 2nd, at Portnaw. That massacre, as I have already said, has also been much misrepresented. But every detail of both is now fully exposed in the depositions of Catholics and Protestants, taken with an even-handed impartiality (unknown to the officials of the Stuart kings) by the Commissioners and magistrates for the High Courts of Justice in 1652–4, and in the curious letter of James MacColl *ciotach* MacDonnell, all hereafter printed for the first time. This haughty and treacherous bigot, and his better-known brother Alaster (wrongly called by the Rev. Mr.

Meehan and many others Alaster Col*ciotach* or Colkitto), had been brought into Ulster by their cousin, the Earl of Antrim. They were also related in blood to Colonel Archibald Stewart, who, as I have already mentioned, gallantly defended Ballymena and its neighbourhood in the first month of the rebellion. Colonel Arthur Chichester who, with good reason, placed little confidence in Antrim and his clan, suspecting that Alaster MacDonnell was secretly planning with the O'Neils and O'Cahanes to surprise Carrickfergus, arrested and imprisoned him. But Colonel Stewart interceded on his behalf, and gave security for his fidelity, so that he was released from imprisonment. Stewart naturally supposed that this friendly service and the ties of Scotch cousinship would bind the MacDonnell brothers to him, spite of their Roman Catholic creed, and he also hoped that they would conciliate and control the Irish Catholics. He gave them accordingly, and Tirlogh O'Cahane, commissions as captains in his regiment. The soldiers under the command of those three Catholic captains were their co-religionists, Highlanders or Islesmen and Antrim's tenants. The rest of Colonel Stewart's regiment was mainly composed of British Protestants; but all of different creeds and nationalities lived together, apparently on the best terms, as brother soldiers in their garrison at Portnaw, until Christmas, 1641.

About that time Mr. Canning, a Londonderry planter, fearing to live any longer unprotected on his estate in the country, applied to Colonel Stewart for a guard of soldiers to convey him and his family safely to Portnaw. Stewart immediately ordered Alaster and James MacDonnell's companies to perform this service, but then the cloven-foot began to appear. The MacDonnells, O'Cahane, and all the Catholics in the regiment absolutely refused to move to the assistance of Mr. Canning. Colonel Stewart then sent some companies of Protestant soldiers to convey the unfortunate gentleman and his family to Portnaw. After they had gone, the diminished Protestant forces remained quietly there, side by side with their Catholic comrades, fearing no harm from them. At dawn, or a little before it, on January 2nd, 1642 (N.S.), the Protestant companies of Captain Glover and Captain Peebles were aroused

from sleep by a stir in the camp. A little alarmed, but still utterly unsuspicious of danger from the MacDonnells, they half dressed themselves and went out of doors. In the faint light of the early winter morning they saw approaching at a little distance a number of men bearing the English and Scotch colours, and a white flag. Thinking that their colonel was about to draw his troops together for some purpose, the Protestant soldiers sent a messenger in haste to the approaching columns to ascertain if this was the case. The man, one Murdoch, ran forward on his errand towards the soldiers who were bearing the colours of his country and his regiment, and the Protestants who stood in the background, looking after him, saw to their horror and amazement a Highlander advance out of the columns with a drawn sword, which he drove through the body of their unfortunate messenger. Before they could grasp their weapons to defend themselves, their Catholic fellow-soldiers, led on by Alaster and James MacDonnell, bore down upon them on the right hand and on the left, 'well-nigh encompassing them,' says the deposition[1] of one of the half-dozen survivors of Captain Peebles's troops, and with volleys of shots, and stabs of dirks and swords, murdered more than sixty of the unarmed men. Three or four Irish Protestants, related or connected by blood or marriage with the Highlanders, were spared by Alaster MacDonnell and his soldiers; the rest fled to the country, where many of them, with their wives and children, were afterwards murdered.

From Portnaw the MacDonnells and O'Cahane marched across the Bann, and assisted by the MacMullans, and one John Mortimer, a tenant of the Earl of Antrim, burned and plundered the whole country northwards, murdering men, women, and children, and taking Ballymoney and Oldstown. They marched to Dunluce Castle, but being denied admittance by Captain Digby, who held it for Antrim, they burned the village, against the will of Alaster MacDonnell, who by that time seems to have got weary of commanding, or rather of trying to command, the murderous rabble in his train. His allies the O'Cahanes issued an order, that the English language

[1] V. Deposition XXIII.

should not be spoken in the camp on pain of death by hanging. 'Upon this,' says one of the Protestants (whom they spared but kept prisoner among them) in his deposition, 'Alaster MacDonnell bade his soldiers and those of us he had protected not speak English for twenty-four hours, being ready to fall out with the Irish that made such a proclamation.'

Another witness, James MacConnell, deposed that he saw the corpses of more than a hundred persons, whom the rebels had murdered, lying on the roads and fields between Portnaw and Killoquin. Some of the Magees were present with the Irish, when many of the Scotch and English were murdered. Tirlogh Oge O'Cahane and his brothers Manus and Conogher, with twelve of their followers, two days after the massacre at Portnaw, burnt the house of John Spence, murdered him and his wife, and his old blind mother, between eighty and ninety years old. The O'Donnells and O'Boyles, about the same time stripped and drowned in the sea near Ballycastle one William Erwin and his wife, striking the former with a pike when he attempted to swim to shore. After James MacDonnell had taken Oldstown, promising quarter for life to the besieged, twenty poor women, with their children in their arms, were murdered as they came out of the castle, and their stripped corpses left unburied near the walls.[1]

From the curious letter before referred to, which he wrote from Oldstown on the 11th of January to Colonel Stewart, it would seem as if this massacre at Portnaw was designed to initiate and assist Strafford's old project of banishing all the Scots in Ulster to Scotland. The whole fierce, treacherous, and overbearing spirit of the man shines out in this letter.

'Coosen Archibald,—I received your letter [2] and to tell the truth I was ever of that opinion, and so was the most of all those gentlemen, (of my company) that your own self had no guilt in you. But certainly had I not begun when I did, I and all those

[1] V. Depositions XXXIII. to XLVIII.

[2] It would appear that Stewart had written to him, probably entreating him to cease from his murderous work, and reproaching him with what he had accomplished in that way.

gentlemen with my wife and children, had been utterly destroyed, of which I got intelligence from one that had heard the plot a-laying, and those captains of yours, *whom you may rather call cowboys*, were every day vexing ourselves and our tenants on purpose to pick quarrels, which no flesh was able to endure, and so judge you whether I had reason to prevent such mischief. And I vow to the Almighty God, had they not thus injured me, as they did, and many others besides me, that would rather hang than go on as they did, I would stick as firm to your side as any of yourselves; though I confess it would be the worse thing for me and mine that ever I saw. To speak to you really the truth, and the true information of the whole kingdom, upon my credit, I now do it. All the whole kingdom in general are now of our side, except Dublin, which hath 20,000 men about it in leaguer, if it be not now already taken; Drogheda, which hath 16,000 about it, and is these ten days past eating horseflesh; Carrickfergus, Coleraine, and my Lord of Clandeboy's and my Lord of Ard's; this is the truth on my credit (illegible); Antrim and all the garrisons between this and Carrickfergus, are all fled to Carrickfergus, so that is but a folly to resist what God pleaseth shall happen, but certainly they (the Irish) will have all Ireland presently, whatever time they keep it. You may truly inform my friends in Coleraine that I would wish they (illegible), now they have leisure; and if they yield it shall be good for them and me, for the booty shall be mine, and they shall save of good lives, for I will send for all the Raghlin boats to Portrush, and from them send all the people away into Scotland; which, if it be not done before Sir Phelim's army comes to the town (illegible), all my design of doing them this good will be to no purpose. Therefore send me word what your decision is; as for both your houses they shall be safe, and so shall all the houses in the country, if they will be persuaded by me. The Oldstone (*sic*) was rendered unto me, and all they within had good quarter, only the Clandeboy soldiers (the O'Neils) and the two regiments from beyond the Bann were a little greedy for pillaging, which could not be helped. As for the killing of women none of my soldiers dare do it, but the common people that are not under rule do it in spite of our teeth; but as for your people they killed of women and children and old people above three score.

'My Lord and Lady (illegible) are gone to whom I have sent. Tell my brother Hill and Mr. Barwick that their people are all in good health, but wear trewses in my company. I desire you

not to stir out of that till I be near you myself, for fear you should fall into the hands of the seven hundred I have in the lower part of the country, who would give you no quarter at all; but when I have settled things here, you may come to me yourself and your dearest friends a few of them, and the rest to transport into Scotland. As for going against the king we will die sooner, or against my Lord of Antrim either, but our only aim is to have our religion settled, and every one to have his own ancient inheritance. Thus wishing you to take my counsel, I rest, your very loving cousin,

'JAMES MACDONNELL.

'*From the Camp at Oldstown this 10th of January*, 1641.'

The coolness with which MacDonnell invites his kinsman to trust him after the base treachery at Portnaw is characteristic. That he and his brother had little or no control over their soldiers is certain, but whatever control they had was exercised without regard for faith or honour.[1] Admitting that they had some reason to complain of their Protestant comrades, though there is no proof of it, the course honourable commanders would have taken would be one of simple secession from Stewart's regiment, not of treacherously falling upon it at night like cowardly cut-throats.

We have now seen that the Portnaw massacre took place on the 2nd of January, 1642 (N.S.), and that all the country around Portnaw was mercilessly plundered, and hundreds of its Protestant inhabitants murdered between that date and the 11th of January, when James MacDonnell wrote the above letter from Oldstown.

Five days after the Portnaw massacre,[1] that is, on the night of the 8th of January, 1642 (N.S.), the family of Owen Magee,

[1] One of the depositions hereafter given says that the wife of James MacDonnell was Mary Burnet, and that she treated the prisoners at Oldstown with great cruelty, urging her husband and the Irish to put them all to death. No account exists of the issue of this marriage, yet I incline to think that its descendants remain. After 1649 many of the MacDonnells and Magees moved to the south and west of Ireland. One of the Protestant prisoners swears that when he asked James MacDonnell to give him a protection to save his wife from being murdered, MacDonnell answered he could not save his own wife from the Irish if they desired to murder her.

[2] V. Depositions XLIX. and L. fixing date.

a farmer in Island Magee, were retiring to rest when a knock was heard at the door of the house. It was opened by the wife of Owen, and then a party of Scotch soldiers and civilians, headed by two men named Brown, entered, armed with swords and pikes, and murdered her, her three children, one an infant, and a woman named Margaret Cammell (*sic*). The Scotchmen next proceeded to the neighbouring house of Donell Magee, and there murdered eleven persons, men, women, and children, after which they went to other houses and murdered many more, killing at least thirty or forty persons. Owen Magee and his sons, with half a dozen others, fled away in the darkness and confusion to Carrickfergus, hoping to obtain protection from their landlord, Colonel Hill, but he was absent, and most of the unhappy fugitives were barbarously murdered by the Scotchmen in the town.

Besides this cruel massacre of the Irish at Island Magee, others quite as cruel took place at Ballymartin and other places. But in the heap of depositions taken with the greatest care by the Cromwellian authorities, to punish the Protestant murderers of Catholics, I could only find one, which asserted that such murders preceded the Portnaw massacre. This deposition was made by Any ny Cory, an Irishwoman, whose mother and brothers, with many of their neighbours, had been murdered by a party of Scotch soldiers, as she asserts 'to the best of her remembrance,' on December 22nd, 1641. But another Irish witness, Donell MacGillmartin, whose father-in-law, brother, and mother were amongst those murdered at Ballymartin, swore that this massacre took place at the end of January, 1642 (N.S.). Both depositions are given in full hereafter, and are very touching.[1]

In more than one deposition the Irish themselves frankly own that the murders committed by the Protestants were retaliatory. The following is a good specimen of those depositions :—

> 'Grany ny Mullan sworn and examined saith, by virtue of her oath, that John Erwyn, sometime her neighbour, came to the dwelling-house of Edward O'Mullan with a party of Scotch

[1] V. Depositions LXVI. and LXVII.

soldiers, on Sunday morning being the 2d of February, 1642, and some of the family seeing them coming gave warning unto all the inhabitants, and thereupon they ran away man, wife, and child, and there were only taken by the soldiers Eveleen Fitz-Simons and her daughter Mary Mullan; and this examt saith that the said John Erwyn drew his sword, and wounded the said Mary Mullan in her head, and forehead, and cut her fingers, at which time she cried out, "Dear John, do not kill me, for I never offended you!" repeating this to him two or three times, whereupon he thrust her under the right breast and she gave up the ghost. The said Eveleen, seeing her daughter so murdered, cried out, and then the said Erwyn slashed her with his sword, and gave her five wounds, and left her for dead and stripped her. And after a time the said Erwyn took a mighty lump of fire, and put it on the said Mary Mullan's breast, expecting she was still living. This deponent swears that several days before that time they had warning from Killeleagh, that John Erwyn intended to kill man, woman, and child in that parish through malice for, and in revenge of, one Jane Erwyn and Margaret Erwyn that were killed by Turlogh O'Kelly and Hugh MacLennan three-quarters of a year before that time. And further saith, that she did not know the rest of the soldiers' names, because they came not near her but went a-pillaging. The cause of her knowledge of these murders is, that she lay under a bush in the bog near that place where the execution of the murders was, and further saith not:

'*Sworn before us* 25*th of May*, 1653.

'John Dalway *mayor*; Roger Lyndon.'

Soon after the Portnaw and Island Magee massacres, the Irish of Kilmore in Armagh county, after murdering a number of Protestants, including Mr. Robinson, the Protestant clergyman of the parish, his wife, and his three children, drove a number of others into a thatched house after stripping them naked. The Irish, led by a woman, then closed up the doors of the house, and set it on fire, burning every Protestant man, woman, and child within it, save two women who managed to creep out through a hole in the wall, and feigning death were left on the ground, until the murderers had gone, when they, the women, escaped to the mountains. While the house was being set on fire some of the women within it fell on their knees screaming for mercy, on which, says one of the

survivors in her sworn deposition, the 'said Jane Hampton,' a native Irishwoman, who had married an Englishman, and for some time conformed to Protestantism, but afterwards returned to Roman Catholicism, and led the Irish on to this horrible massacre, 'being resolved to destroy the Protestants, said she would be a blacksmith to them, and refused to suffer them to come out of the house. And she having a pitchfork, and the other rebels other weapons, burnt that house and all the Protestants therein, save these deponents only.' Some of those burnt were babies of a few weeks old in their mothers' arms. An Englishman, named Robert Wilkinson, in the same parish of Kilmore, was taken prisoner by the rebel soldiers, who held his feet to the fire, roasting them slowly, and then burning him, not being able to make him confess where his money was hidden. A great number of Protestants were drowned at Scarvagh, Belturbet, and Corbridge, by the O'Quins and the O'Hanlons. Some of the Irish women, and their children of ten or twelve years old, surpassed the men in their atrocious cruelty.

Leaving those sad Ulster annals of 1641, we find that they are hardly worse than those of Connaught in the same year. Full details of the great massacre at Shrule, for which Lord Mayo was executed by the Cromwellians, will be found in the depositions, as also the details of the cruel murder of Mr. Oliphant, a clergyman, before his wife's face, and the dragging of his dead body tied to a horse's tail through the roads and streets. In Munster the massacres were very few in number, in fact, excepting in Tipperary and Cork, no blood was shed out of war save in half a dozen isolated cases. A Mrs. Hussey and a party of Protestants flying from Kerry to Cork were murdered near Macroom by the O'Reardons, although they had a protection from Lord Muskerry, who was tried in 1653 as an accessory to this massacre and acquitted. The Elizabethan colonists in and around Tralee on the Crosbie and Denny and FitzGerald estates, were nearly all spared by the Irish, with whom they were connected by marriage or close ties of friendship. Not a few of those Elizabethan colonists and their children had become Roman

Catholics, and sided with the Irish in 1641. One of the Kerry depositions states that Robert Blennerhassett of Ballyseedy declined to assist the besieged Protestants in Sir Edward Denny's castle at Tralee, saying 'that the Irish had helped him to plough and till his lands, and that those lands were the worse for every English foot that trod on them.' After the Nuncio's arrival in Ireland, however, Mr. Blennerhassett, whose lands paid a chief rent to Sir Edward Denny, was glad to accept the protection of the English troops.

The only Roman Catholic of rank in Kerry who, like Bishop Dease in Meath, absolutely refused to join in the rebellion, was John, Knight of Kerry,[1] the son-in-law of Lord Kerry who had fled in the first months of the outbreak to London. John, Knight of Kerry, was excommunicated by the Roman Catholic bishop of the diocese for his wise neutrality in 1641. By maintaining it, in spite of those censures, he was able to save many Roman Catholics, as well as Protestants, from death and confiscation of their estates in 1641–9. The sufferings of the Protestants in the siege of Tralee Castle, which was gallantly held by the father-in-law of Sir Edward Denny (during his absence with his regiment in Leinster) for many months are fully detailed in the depositions hereafter given.

It has been said that no massacre of Protestants took place in Leinster, but the sworn depositions of many, hereafter given, prove that this is an entire mistake. All that can be

[1] 'Whereas John FitzGerald, Knight of Kerry's petition, &c., having been considered by the Lord Deputy and Council, as well as several orders formerly made on his behalf, as also of the letter of the late Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, dated May 17th, 1654, directed to his Highness's Council in England, certifying that the good report they received from persons of integrity concerning the petitioner, both in relation to his manifold sufferings under the barbarous Irish rebels, for his affection to the English and Protestants, and the protecting of them from the rage and cruelty of the rebels, and his being entrusted by the late Lord Deputy Ireton to manage with others the public affairs of the place as Commissioner of Revenue, . . . it is the sense of the Committee of the officers to whom his petition was referred that he be deserved to be put into equal capacity with the English (notwithstanding his being a native of Ireland and a Roman Catholic), and that some favour be conferred on him. . . . It is held fit that he be continued in the possession of his estate, &c.'—*Council Books of the Commonwealth*, Public Record Office, Dublin.

said with truth is, that the massacres and brutal murders in that province were fewer in number than those committed in Ulster and Connaught. The bigotry of the murderers in Leinster was conspicuous, as is shown by the revolting desecration of the graves of Protestants in various parts of the province, and the following order given by the Roman Catholic bishop of Ferns, on the burial of an Irishman, one Francis Talbot, a Protestant.

> 'The body of Francis Talbot, who died an obstinate heretic, and finally therein impenitent, is to be buried in *pœnam Hæresess* (*sic*) *et finalis impenitentiæ, nec non in terrorem aliorum*, with only one candle at the grave at nine o'clock of the night, without a bell in the church or street, without priest, cross, book, or prayer, the place of his burial to be in the alley of St. Mary's churchyard, near to the garden of the parsonage. All which, concerning the said burial, we have ordered to be done, with the advice of men learned in divinity; and who shall exceed this manner of the said Francis' burial, is to incur the censures of the Church. No wax taper, or candle, or torch is to be used.
>
> 'Nicholas Episcopus Fernensis.
>
> '*Given at the Friars' Monastery,*
> 31*st Dec.*, 1646.'

This bishop, it will be remembered, was one of the moderate ecclesiastics of his Church, as some writers have it. The Nuncio writes of him at first as a man who wished to hold a middle course, but afterwards, when the bishop joined Ormond's party, and consented to the restitution of the estates of such Protestants as also joined it, and remained faithful to the King, the Nuncio looked upon him as little better than a heretic, saying, 'as if indeed a mere regard for the king could qualify heresy, or purge the contagion which falsehood imparts to the soul, as if the aid granted by the Vicar of God could really benefit religion, when it was employed in the service of Protestants.'[1]

For ten long years unhappy Ireland was given over to factions, more or less dominated by those ecclesiastics 'moderate' and 'immoderate,' maintainers of a supremacy

[1] Rinucini's *Embassy in Ireland*, translated by Annie Hutton, p. 543.

that admits of no compromise, save as a temporary expedient, the better to attain its end. In the whole dreary, blood-stained history of the country, there is no more miserable chapter than that of this civil war. The spectacle the island then presented, resembled, only on a larger scale, the spectacle of the fair capital of France, under the Commune, pithily and accurately described by Bismarck, as a 'mad house full of monkeys.' Ulstermen warring against or jangling with Munstermen, Leinstermen against Connaughtmen, Ormondists against Nuncionists, Inchiquin now for the King, now against him, Glamorgan with his forged or real royal warrants, Ormond imprisoning Glamorgan, and then himself discarded because he would not sell his conscience and go to mass, Clanricarde in his turn, although a Roman Catholic discarded, treaties made only to be broken, excommunications poured out like water for every trivial offence, political and religious, or for no cause at all, until nobody cared for them. To the sober-minded, small minority of Christians of all denominations, in the distracted island, the advent of Cromwell to evoke, at any cost, order out of this chaos, must have been a real blessing.

The depositions and examinations taken in 1652–54, as well as the notes of the proceedings at the trials of the murderers, and their leaders in the same year, hereafter given, show how worthy of its name was the High Court of Justice, established by the English Parliament. These documents and others hereafter printed for the first time, revolutionise the popular ideas of the Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland, derived from the study of Carte, Mr. Prendergast, and less eminent writers on Irish history. Take, for instance, the order issued by Cromwell, respecting the killing of a poor Catholic carpenter, Turlogh O'Byrne, by a Cromwellian soldier in Connaught. The soldier having been tried and found guilty of manslaughter, his debenture for forfeited lands becomes the property of the State, but Cromwell writes to Dublin, ordering that it shall be handed over to the Irish widow and her children. Add to this his letters on behalf of other well-disposed Catholics given hereafter, and compare

his inexorably just rule, tempered where it was possible to temper it with mercy, to that of the Stuart Kings, for whom the Irish 'servile though sore' for generations flung their ragged caps into the air.

In his, in many respects, very valuable report on the Carte Papers in the Bodleian Library, Mr. Prendergast says of Phelim O'Neil's trial and execution :—

> 'It is to be remarked that he was tried for high treason, and for the high treason committed by rebellion, and not for murder, he was sentenced and hanged. And though Sir Gerard Lowther, in his address to him when sentencing him to execution, says, there was a charge against him for the murder of Lord Caulfield, he mentions no other, and that charge is now known to be false. Sir Phelim treated Lord Caulfield and his family with kindness, after the surprise of Charlemont on the 23d of October, 1641, and the murder was committed by the guard that escorted him on his way to Cloghouter in December, 1641, at a distance from Charlemont, and in Sir Phelim's absence; and he was so indignant at the crime that he caused his foster-brother and three more to be hanged for the murder.'

It is very strange how Mr. Prendergast could have committed such a mistake, or rather series of mistakes, respecting the trial of Sir Phelim O'Neil, but from a footnote to the above, he seems to have relied on the authority of a very imperfect abridgment of Judge Lowther's address, which is amongst the Harris MSS. in the collection of the Royal Dublin Society. Had he read Judge Lowther's own notes of the trials, and the sentences which are here for the first time printed, from the MSS. in Trinity College, he would have seen that Sir Phelim was not only tried for treason, but for being accessory to six murders, viz. the murder of Lord Caulfield, the murder of Mr. and Mrs. James Maxwell, and their prematurely born baby, the murder of Mr. Blaney, and the murder of Bromley Taylor. William Skelton, a Protestant Irishman, who had been Sir Phelim's servant, in his long deposition states that he saw O'Hugh, the foster-brother of his master, shoot young Lord Caulfield as he was entering the gate at Kinard, accompanied by Neil MacKenna and Brian Modder O'Neil, who had been sent

with him from Charlemont. Sir Phelim was absent from Kinard at this time, and the household was governed by a priest named McOghie. Mr. Kerdiffe, another witness examined at the trial of O'Neil, swore that when Lord Caulfield's funeral came to Charlemont, Sir Phelim, who had been away carrying on the war, happened to come to the fort and said, in his (Kerdiffe's) hearing, '*What! is Lord Caulfield dead? I would he had died seven years ago, for I am a thousand pounds the worse for him!*' The words were probably spoken to make Kerdiffe believe that the speaker knew nothing of the murder, although he did not regret it; for Sir Phelim O'Neil, like his kinsman Shane *Diomais*, was a singular mixture of dissimulation and impulsive violence. His own admissions show that he prided himself on his powers of dissimulation, and all accounts agree that at times he became the slave of fierce passions.[1]

But the clearest proof of his guilt in the matter of Lord Caulfield's death is given in his own attempted defence in court. Joseph Travers, one of the witnesses against him, having sworn that he said, 'They (the English) have Lord Maguire prisoner with them, but if they touch a hair of his head Caulfield shall die for him.' Sir Phelim admitted that he might have said those words, and that he meant to act upon them. After this, considering that Maguire's fate was certain from the first moment of his capture, it is foolish to

[1] V. Deposition XXXI. 'We are told that, on any ill-success, he would in a fury order his prisoners to be murdered, or some other act of barbarous and senseless cruelty to be perpetrated; that, when several of his sept had been killed in an unsuccessful attack on the castle of Augher, he ordered all the English and Scotch in three parishes to be killed.' (Lecky, vol. ii. p. 144.) He told Lady Strabane that he would not leave off his work 'until mass was said in every church in Ireland.' Yet, when a priest remonstrated with him on allowing his soldiers to kill persons under protection, he treated him with little courtesy, bidding him 'begone! for that it was no business of his.' Mr. Gilbert says that Preston would not have permitted his daughter to marry Sir Phelim if he were as bad a man as Temple makes him out to be. It seems to me doubtful that he ever married Miss Preston, although it is said in the depositions that the marriage was reported (Dep. cxcviii.). His first wife died in October, 1641: he was paying his addresses to Lady Strabane in 1642 (v. Deposition xxxi.), and she survived him, and as his widow applied for relief to the Government in 1656. —V. *Council Books of the Commonwealth*, P. R. O., Dublin.

suppose that O'Neil cared to prolong Lord Caulfield's life for an hour, except as a hostage. Mrs. Beere's and Michael Harrison's depositions show that after O'Hugh had escaped from gaol, his English and Scotch guard were hung, but the Irish guard and the gaoler were spared.[1] O'Hugh went freely about the country without Sir Phelim making the slightest attempt to re-arrest him. Mrs. Beere's deposition is evidently a fair and truthful one. She states that Edmund Crelly, who was the brother of a priest (some deponents seem to say he was a priest himself) who governed Armagh for Sir Phelim, treated many of the Protestant prisoners kindly. The depositions which relate the murders of Taylor and Blaney, and Mr. and Mrs. Maxwell, leave no doubt of Sir Phelim's complicity in the crimes of his followers.

When first I began to prepare those depositions for publication, feeling the necessity for obtaining, if possible, the records of the trials in the High Court of Justice, I made long searches for them in every direction without success. Mr. W. M. Hennessy assured me no records of that Court were in the Dublin Public Record Office, and that it was likely they had been burnt in the great fire of 1711, which destroyed many valuable documents then in the Dublin archives. No trace of them could be found in the London office nor at the Bodleian. I had given up all hope of discovering them, when one day I happened to refer to Archdall's edition of Lodges' peerage of Ireland, for some information respecting the Caulfield family, and I there found in a footnote a reference to the witnesses' examinations in court on O'Neil's trial, which seemed to show that those examinations were preserved in a collection called in the said footnote the *Clogher MSS.* Thinking it likely that this collection of diocesan papers might be in Trinity College, Dublin, I wrote to ask Mr. French, the courteous assistant librarian there, if this were the case. Mr. French replied that no such collection of MSS. was known to exist in the

[1] It is doubtful that it was on Lord Caulfield's account they were hung (v. Harrison's deposition); but what is certain is that the Irish fosterer of O'Neil, who committed the murder, was never hung. O'Neil admitted he was not.

College Library, but a few days after he wrote to me again, informing me that he found the *Clogher MSS.* were in the college collections, but that for a long time they had been called the *Stearne MSS.* from a Bishop Stearne, who had, I believe, bequeathed them to the library in T.C.D. Mr. French added, that he found among them the notes of proceedings in the High Court of Justice, referred to by Lodge, and that I could see them at any time I pleased in the library.

I went to Dublin accordingly, in a few months after I had heard from Mr. French, and made the selections from those notes hereafter given. They are evidently Judge Lowther's own summaries of the evidence given in his court, and of the speeches there made. But before I could go to Dublin, Mr. French communicated my discovery of those notes to the Rev. C. P. Meehan, who at once availed himself of it, and transcribed some notes of the Judge's speech or sentence of O'Neil for the new edition of his 'Confederation of Kilkenny,' which, as I have already said, was reviewed in the 'Nation' newspaper. Mr. Meehan, in his preface, alludes to the Hamiltons as witnessing against O'Neil on his trial, but it will be seen that no witness of that name appeared against him either in or out of court. Some of the Hamilton family are said to have possessed themselves of the lands of Daniel O'Neil, a distant relative of Sir Phelim's, but they do not appear to have in any way (except in open war) acted against him in 1641–52. Daniel O'Neil was repeatedly offered a high position in the Irish army if he would become a Roman Catholic, but he refused all temptations, and lived and died a Protestant. A Mr. Doyne or Dun was tried by the High Court for murdering one of the Hamiltons; the notes of his trial with those of many other trials are amongst the *Stearne MSS.* The writing in all is most difficult to decipher, and I had to procure the able assistance of Mr. Edward Impey, a Record Agent, long trained in such work in the London Public Record Office, to make the selections hereafter given. Some of the notes are quite impossible to decipher, the writing is so crabbed, and the abbreviations so numerous. Still the decipherable portions are most valuable and interesting, and would be well worth publishing in their entirety.

The brief but noble speech of Lord Muskerry after sentence is legible throughout—one or two words here and there are not perfectly so, but the rest is clear. He had been so ill-treated by his bigoted co-religionists on the Continent that he returned to Ireland to take his chance of life or death. He was undoubtedly a generous and honest-minded soldier, and it is impossible not to feel a deep sympathy for him, and pleasure in knowing that he was restored after 1660 to a large portion if not all of his forfeited estate. Unhappily, before the end of the century, it was all forfeited by his great-grandson, the Earl of Clancarty, who when a mere child was kidnapped from his tutor and his Protestant mother by the Roman Catholics about James II., and educated in their religion. He was still very young when the civil war of 1688 began, and he was entrusted with the command of a regiment in Cork for James. The young earl behaved with such hot-headed violence and cruelty towards the Protestants in and around Bandon, Mallow, and Cork, that he and his deputy-governor of the last-named town, MacEligot, owner of a good estate in Kerry, lost all, and were, after James's defeat and flight, imprisoned in the Tower. An unfortunate butcher in the town of Newmarket or Fermoy, having refused to supply Clancarty and his soldiers with beef, was taken by them and tossed in a blanket outside his own door until his limbs were broken. After 1691 a considerable portion of Clancarty's lands was granted to this Protestant butcher, and when Dr. Smith wrote his 'History of Cork' in or about 1760 they were known he says by the name of 'the lands of the butcher of conscience.'

Some of the most interesting depositions and letters in the following selection are those relating to the case of Colonel Maolmurry MacSwiney, accused of complicity in the murder of a Protestant minister, Mr. Aikin, in Donegal. Colonel Venables' letters on behalf of MacSwiney saved his life and, it would appear, his estate. Another interesting letter is that of the Cromwellian authorities in Kilkenny on behalf of Captain O'Farrell. Lady Butler's letter to her brother-in-law, given hereafter, shows that Colonel Bagenal and James Butler, whom some Irish writers have endeavoured to clear of

guilt in connection with the massacres, were only restrained by Lord Mountgarret from murdering her and her husband. Lord Mountgarret seems to have been a generous, brave, but weak-minded nobleman, who, as far as he possibly could, restrained the violence of his retainers and followers. The policy of the Parliament and of Cromwell in all cases seems to have been the just, if not strictly legal one, of punishing the leaders who incited their followers to rebel for the crimes these latter committed. And, beyond all question, this was not only the just but in every respect the best policy for Ireland. That the Irish have not recognised it to be so is due to their old failing of preferring to follow with blind credulity in the wake of their blarneying orators, lay and clerical.

Sir William Petty, against whom our Gaelic ancestors not unnaturally entertained a strong prejudice for his large acquisitions of their forfeited estates, nevertheless pointed out a truth which the Irish people, even at this present hour, might profitably lay to heart, when he asked, 'What have they (the poorer Irish clansmen) ever got by accompanying their lords into rebellion against the English? What should they have gotten if the late rebellion had absolutely succeeded, but a more absolute servitude? And when it failed those poor people lost all their lands, while their leaders increased theirs, and enjoyed the very lands which they caused the poor to lose?' This was undoubtedly true when, after the Restoration, many of the Irish leaders were rewarded by Charles II., while the poor clansmen, who had not become food for powder in the war, were beggars and outcasts.

There has been much discussion amongst historians as to the exact number of Protestants who in the first years of the rebellion, between 1641 and 1645, were murdered in one way or another. Sir William Petty, who had excellent opportunities for arriving at a right estimate and was a 'born arithmetician,' says, writing in 1672:—

> 'The present proportion of British is as three to eleven, but before the war the proportion was as two to eleven, and thus it follows that the number of British slain in eleven years was 112,000 souls, of which I guess two-thirds to have perished by

plague, war, and famine. So as that it follows that 37,000 were massacred in the first year of the tumults. Therefore those that say 154,000 were so massacred ought to review the grounds of that opinion. It follows, also, that about 504,000 of the Irish perished and were wasted by the sword, plague, famine, hardship, and banishment, between the 23d of October 1641, and the same day in 1652. Wherefore those who say that not one-eighth of them remained at the end of the wars, must also review their opinions. There were transported of Irish into Spain, Flanders, and France, 34,000 soldiers; and of women, boys, and priests, no less than 6,000, whereof not half are returned. . . . If Ireland had continued in peace for the said eleven years, then the 1,466,000 had increased by generation to 73,000 more, making in all 1,539,000, which in the said wars were brought in A.D. 1652 to 850,000, so that there were lost 689,000 souls, for whose blood somebody should answer to God and the King.' [1]

This estimate of 37,000 Protestants supposed to have been murdered makes no allowance for those who escaped to England and Scotland, and never returned to Ireland. It seems to me more likely that about 27,000 Protestants were murdered by the sword, gun, rope, drowning, &c., in the first three or four years of the rebellion. The evidence of the depositions, after deducting all doubtful exaggerations, leaves little doubt that the number so destroyed could hardly have been less than 25,000 at all events. But the truth is that no accurate estimate is possible.[2] After the Portnaw massacre the Protestants, especially the Scotch, took an awful vengeance on their enemies. Henceforward one side vied in cruelty

[1] *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, p. 154.

[2] 'From the impossibility of preserving any exact details of so promiscuous a massacre, as well as from the vagueness of the testimony and the insufficiency of the statistics on which any calculations could now be founded, it is altogether impossible to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. The partiality, and violence too, with which the conflicting disputants have discussed the subject, and the confidence with which they insist on the most opposite results, have tended still more to perplex and obscure it; so that it is equally vain and presumptuous at the present day to hope, by any renewal of the investigation, to discover the exact number of Protestant sufferers during the first or earlier stages of the rebellion. Suffice it to say, that the lowest possible computation presents an awful sacrifice of human life, and a fearful proof of the implacable spirit of the Romish faith in those days of ignorance and bigotry.'—Reid, vol. i. p. 326. The lowest computation was from 8,000 to 12,000.

with the other. But that the massacres were begun by the Roman Catholics on the 23rd of October at the instigation of the majority of their priests, Phelim O'Neil and the Maguire brothers, and that the King, the Earl of Antrim, and the MacDonnel brothers were responsible for the retaliatory massacre at Island Magee, is indisputable. Strafford, as we have seen, warned the king against trusting Antrim, or allowing him to bring the MacDonnels of the Isles into Ulster.[1]

The money loss to Ireland by this ill-advised rebellion is more easily calculated than is the loss of life. Here Petty may be safely trusted. The houses in Ireland which were he says in 1640 worth two millions and a half, were in 1652 worth only 500,000*l.*; the estates of the Irish in the former year were double those of the English; in 1652 the Irish retained only one-fourth of the island: the cattle of Ireland in the former year, increased by the fine stock brought over from England (only to be destroyed by the insane folly of the rebels), was worth four millions; in 1652 meat had to be imported from Wales, and the whole stock of cattle in Ireland was worth only 500,000*l.* The money loss to Ireland through the effect of the rebellion was 37,255,000*l.*

Some one has said that a preface or an introduction to a book must necessarily be an explanation or an apology, but in the present case I feel sure that there is no necessity for the latter. The history of the two islands can never be fully understood by any one who has not studied the depositions in Trinity College. To write on Irish history since 1600 without studying them closely, and taking full account of the facts which they relate, is like playing Hamlet with the part of Hamlet left out. We have had more than enough of such histories—unhappily they are in the hands of every

[1] The race in after times, under the softening influences of civilisation, grew a most worthy, as it had always been an eminently brave one. But in the seventeenth century the Colonsay MacDonnels were fierce, merciless pirates and marauders. Had they succeeded against the English and Scotch Protestant settlers in Ulster, the state of the province would have been worse than it was in the height of the rebellion, because the islanders considered that they, as the descendants of ancient Irish kings, had claims to lands there superior to those of the O'Neils themselves, and the two rival clans would have perpetuated feuds and torn each the other to pieces in their rivalry for supremacy.

Irish child and youth—histories which magnify every crime, and they were not a few, committed by the English government, which expatiate in a luxury of sentimental sorrow over the transplantation records and fictitious reports of the executions and sentences in the Cromwellian courts, but carefully ignore or boldly travesty the records of the crimes which led to those severities. In the hope that there are Irishmen as well as Englishmen who look for something better than these so-called histories, I offer this brief introduction, the depositions and other unpublished historical records, to the public. If they are found useful to the future historian of Ireland, for whom we have too long waited, I shall be satisfied and amply repaid. The Ireland of to-day is the Ireland of the mixed race,[1] as British in blood, the best authorities tell us, as Great

[1] No difference of race is perceptible between the majority of the people of Great Britain and Ireland save that which arises in any country from different modes of life, commercial or agricultural, and varying degrees of education, civilisation, and refinement, resulting mainly from the physical geography of the districts. It is often said that the inhabitants of the west of Kerry are 'pure Celts,' but years of research into Kerry history and genealogies, and a life-long knowledge of the county, leave no doubt on my mind that in no part of the island is the race more mixed. The many ruined castles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the west of Kerry show how extensively it was planted by the old English; the Exchequer Records, relating to the county in those centuries, tell the same tale, as do the endless Kerry cousinships generation after generation. Pierre Ferriter, the leader of the Kerry insurgents in 1641, was the descendant of the old English Le Fureters; the Trants, anciently Teraunts, were of the same race, the Rices were British, the Nagles were De Angulos. All these, and many other settlers between 1170 and 1600, married amongst the O'Sullivans and MacCarthys, and Moriarties, until their descendants had as much Gaelic as English blood in their veins. It is quite true that in those remote western districts, which education and civilisation have been, simply from their remoteness, slow in reaching, the old Celtic language and customs prevail, but this is no sign, save to a superficial observer, of the people being 'pure Celts' in blood. It is rather the sign of that tendency, which Mr. Freeman notices in the Scandinavian or Norman race, to blend readily with other races, and of that equally strong tendency in Celts or Gaels to cling to their old customs, like the Galatians of old, whom St. Paul rebuked on that account. This mental characteristic often prevails in the mixed race, most strongly amongst the uneducated, but the race is not less mixed in blood for all that. The real difference, which causes division and strife between the two islands, is religious not racial. Were the majority of the English Roman Catholic to-morrow, or the majority of the Irish Protestant, those strifes would cease, but it is most probable that the desire of the Irish for a large share of self-government would then be stronger than ever.

Britain itself. Those of us who bear the most thoroughly Saxon names, are generally, like the writer, the descendants in the first, second, or third degree of O'Connells, O'Sullivans, and other ancient Irish clans, and value that descent highly, not the less because we feel that now, in a wiser and larger spirit than that of our Gaelic ancestors, we may all join in the aspirations and memories of the great British poet in his ode on the death of one of the greatest Irishmen, the direct descendant in the female line (through the family of a Londonderry planter) of the greatest and best loved of the old Irish kings, and say:—

'Though all men else their nobler dreams forget,
Confused by brainless mobs and lawless powers;
Thank Him who isled us here and roughly set
His Briton in blown seas and stormy showers,
We have a voice with which to pay the debt
Of boundless love and reverence and regret,
To those great men who fought and kept it ours.
And keep it ours, O God! from brute control
O! Statesmen keep it, keep the eye, the soul
Of Europe, keep this noble EMPIRE whole,
And save the one true seed of Freedom sown
Between a people and their ancient throne,
That sober Freedom, out of which there springs
Our loyal passion for our temperate kings;
For saving that, ye help to save mankind
Till public wrong be crumbled into dust,
And drill the raw world for the march of mind,
Till crowds at length be sane, and crowns be just.'

DEPOSITIONS.

'To believe without evidence is irrational, but to disbelieve against sufficient evidence is equally irrational. By sufficient evidence I mean such an amount of proof as satisfies an unprejudiced mind beyond all reasonable doubt.'—*The Rules of Evidence as applied to the Credibility of History.* By W. Forsyth, Q.C., LL.D.

'The only history worth reading is that written at the time of which it treats—the history of what was done and seen heard out of the mouths of those who did and saw. One fresh draught of such history is worth more than a thousand volumes of abstracts and reasonings and suppositions and theories.'—Ruskin.

I.

Ellen Adams, the relict of Thomas Adams, late of Waterdrum, in the county of Fermanagh, preacher of God's word, being duly sworn and examined before us, by virtue of a commission to us and others directed for the inquiring and examining into the losses and sufferings of the British Protestants within this kingdom of Ireland, deposeth and saith, That about October 24th, 1641, this deponent's said husband lost and was forcibly despoiled of his cattle, corn, and goods to the value of 200*l.* and upwards. And this examinant further examined saith that upon October 24th aforesaid this deponent's husband, Thomas Adams, with several other Protestants, living in or near Waterdrum aforesaid, were suddenly surprised about 12 o'clock in the night by Rory Maguire, the late Lord Maguire's brother, accompanied by Donogh Maguire of Rossbeg in the same county, and a number of armed rebels who, with swords drawn, in a cruel and barbarous manner murdered the said Thomas and John Adams, and not therewith satisfied murdered there and then Joseph Berry, an aged man, taking no compassion on his weakness and grey hairs, and together with him they massacred his son William Berry. This examinant further saith, that the said Rory Maguire's confederacy or some of them, whose names she doth not remember,

finding one Sarah Brent, the wife of George Brent, of Waterdrum aforesaid (she being then great with child), did barbarously murder her, first stripping her naked, and then running a skean into her body ripping her up.[1] . . . This examinant further saith that she is credibly informed, that one Richard Carey and his wife, together with many other stripped protestants, to the number of (*illegible*) persons, were all murdered at or near Ballyconan, being there conveyed by the rebels, and that this deponent's daughter, Ellen Adams, was then so pitifully cut and mangled that for a long time after she was not able to go or stir. And this examinant herself, was sorely wounded, so that she will be weak and impotent while she lives; for besides wounds she received in her hands, sides, and skull, one of them gave this examinant a desperate wound with his skean under her jawbone, threatening to pull out this examinant's tongue. And further saith not.

ELLEN + ADAMS.

Jurat. coram nobis,
August 23*rd*, 16 (*illegible*),
HENRY CLOGHER.[2]
HENRY BRERETON.

II.

MARGARET FARMENIE and MARGARET LEATHLEY, widows, both of Acrashannig, in the parish of Clowniss, county of Fermanagh, sworn and examined, deposeth that on October 24th, 1641, in the morning, Laughlin Duffe; Patrick MacMahon; Laughlin MacCarroll; Philip Roe Shane MacCullen, and certain others of the rebels in the said county, to the number of one hundred or thereabouts, robbed those deponents of their goods, and further saith that the rebels bound those deponents' hands behind them, urging them to confess they had money. And they bound the husband of the said Margaret Farmenie, and then they dragged him up and down in a rope, and cut his throat in her own sight, with a skean, having first knocked him down and stript him. And having also murdered there fourteen persons more, all English Protestants, they, the said rebels, alleging that they had the King's broad seal to strip and stone all the English, and that they were the king's soldiers. And as these deponents came up to Dublin they were stripped by the Irish several times in a day, and came up naked to Dublin, being aged women of

[1] The particulars of this murder are too shocking for publication.

[2] This deposition is taken from a copy in the British Museum collection, which accounts for the signature of Jones as Bishop of Clogher.

seventy-five years old or thereabouts, the said rebels bidding them go on and look for their God, and let him give them clothes.

Margaret + Farmenie.
Margaret + Leathley.

Jurat. January 3rd, 1641,
Coram John Sterne.
Wm. Hitchcock.

III.

Alice Champion, late wife, now relict, of Arthur Champion, Esquire, of Shanoge, in the county of Fermanagh, duly sworn, deposeth, *inter alia*, that on October 23d last her late husband, Arthur Champion, was assaulted and cruelly murdered and killed before his own gate at Shanoge aforesaid, by the Maguires and their adherents, to the number of a hundred persons. And that they murdered and killed with the said Arthur six other persons at Shanoge aforesaid, as namely, Thomas Champion, Thomas Iremonger, Humphrey Littlebury, Christopher Linch, gentlemen, John Morris and Hugh Williams, gentlemen. And that afterwards they killed and murdered about that place to the number of twenty-four Englishmen more or thereabouts. And she heard the rebels say that they were specially commanded and directed by the Lord Maguire (now in the Castle of Dublin) that they should not spare the said Arthur Champion, her said late husband, but murder and kill him and all the Crosses, that were his followers and tenants. And after they had killed the said Arthur Champion, they murdered Henry Cross and hung up Joseph Cross, as they were commanded by the Lord Maguire, and then they forcibly entered the said Castle of Shanoge, as also the Castle of Coole, and burned them after they had pillaged them. And this deponent further saith that she hath heard it spoken by the rebellious Irish, that they had done nothing in this rebellion but what they had the king's broad seal for it. And at other times they said Sir Phelemy Roe O'Neil should be king of Ireland; and they saith moreover that they would send 15,000 Irishmen over into England before Midsummer day next to relieve the Papists, and that they would give a good sum of money that they had the head of King Charles. And also saith, that the said rebels would not permit or suffer the corpses of the dead who were so murdered at the Castle of Shanoge to be buried, until such time as a quarter of the persons so murdered was

devoured and eaten by dogs, and that the said rebels did burn as she heard them boast in the Castle of Lisgoole, and county of Fermanagh, of British and Englishmen—men, women and children—to the number of ninety persons or thereabouts. And after one of the said women leapt out of a window of the said castle to save herself from being burned, she was cruelly murdered by the rebels; and the next morning they finding a young child of hers lying sucking the dead mother's breast, they killed the said child. And when the said poor souls were burning in the said castle, the said rebels used to say amongst themselves rejoicingly, '*How sweetly they do fry!*' And further, this examinant saith that she has heard the rebels say, that they had killed so many Englishmen that the grease or fat that remained on their swords, might have made an Irish candle, and also, as she likewise heard, at the town of Belturbet, the said rebels had drowned of Englishmen, women and children, to the number of thirty persons, or thereabouts, and for the cause of her knowledge of what she has related she saith, that she was at the very first restrained and kept a prisoner with and by the said rebels with whom she so remained for the space of nineteen weeks, and within that time heard or saw what she deposeth.

ALICE CHAMPION.

Jurat. 14*th April*, 1642,
Coram JOHN WATSON.
WM. ALDRICH.

IV.

THOMAS LOISANIE, of Markane, in the county of Fermanagh, in the barony of Clonulty, yeoman, sworn and examined saith, that on October 23d, 1641, he was robbed and stripped by one Redmund Oge MacKeawly and Morrogh Ballagh Flaherty MacHugh, gent., Flaherty Maguire, gent., Phelim Maguire, gent., and divers others of the parish of Clonulty, in the county aforesaid, they being all followers of and belonging to Captain Rory Maguire, of goods and chattels worth (*illegible*). And further saith, that on Tuesday next, after the day above written, Charles Loisanie, father to this deponent, with Mr. Francis Hilliard, John Craven the father and John Craven the son, as they were coming from their own house towards Dublin, a little on one side of Clonally church, were assaulted and set upon by Daniel MacManus and Patrick Oge MacManus, Flaherty MacHugh and Flaherty Maguire, Patrick O'Hagan, Brian O'Reilly, Patrick O'Downan, Patrick O'Flanagan, Brian MacMurrogh

O'Farrell, Mughy Cahill Oge, Philip MacManus, Daniel Magawran, Thomas Purcell, and other farmers of the parish of Clonally aforesaid, all rebels, who then and there murdered them most woefully with swords and skeans, calling them '*English dogs*!' And telling them they should go no farther to carry news to England. And this deponent hath his arms almost cut asunder by them.

THOMAS LOISANIE.

Jurat. 13*th Jan.* 1642,
Coram JOHN STERNE.
WM. HITCHCOCK.

V.

ANNE OGDEN, late of Tatemagiar, in the parish of Clowness, in the county of Fermanagh, duly sworn and examined, deposeth, that on October 23d last, 1641, there came to her house one Redmond Maguire of (*illegible*), in the said county, and his brother Donogh Maguire, accompanied by about thirty Irish rebels, whose names she knoweth not, and broke open the door of the said house and murdered her late husband, William Ogden, with their swords. And this deponent was stripped of her clothes in the way towards Dublin, and was forced to fly there for succour with two children of her said husband, who, through the torments of hunger and cold they endured on that journey, are since dead at Dublin.

ANNE OGDEN +

Jurat. 14*th May*, 1641,
Coram WM. ALDRICH.
WM. HITCHCOCK.

VI.

NATHANIEL HIGGINSON, of the Castle of Knockballymore, gent., in the county of Fermanagh, being duly sworn, deposeth, that about the 24th day of October last, in the evening, at Knockballymore aforesaid, he was robbed and despoiled by Rory Maguire, of the county of Fermanagh, Captain O'Donnell, and their soldiers of the same company, of his goods and means, worth 1,126*l*. And further deposeth, that the aforesaid rebels said that they had commission under a broad seal from the king for what they had done, and when they had vanquished or overrun the kingdom they would go over into England, where they would have the assistance of Spain or France for overcoming the same. And further saith, that the said

rebels having stripped this deponent, and his wife and family, of all their clothes, and turned them away naked, they got some other clothes from their friends at Belturbet, but about ten days after they were again stripped of these clothes by Philip O'Reilly, of (*blank*), in the county Cavan, Esquire, captain of the rebels, and divers others of the O'Reillys and others, being a great number. And then the said rebels or some of them most grievously wounded and struck this deponent in the head, and other parts of his body, so as he hardly escaped with his life, nor is yet recovered of his health and strength. And further saith, that the rebels of Fermanagh killed one of his tenants and at the least fourscore English Protestants more in the town of Cavan, and wounded, hurt, and stripped many others, and indeed as many of the English as dwelt thereabouts. And to add more misery to the Protestants, the aforesaid rebels killed few of them outright, but left them in ditches and other places, mortally wounded, and stripped of their clothes, where they languished and pined to death, the rebels affirming that their priests commanded them so to do.

NATHANIEL HIGGINSON.

Jurat. Jan. 7th, 1641,
Coram ROGER PUTTOCK.
HENRY BRERETON.

VII.

ELIZABETH COATES, of Donaghe, in the parish of Dromully, barony of Clankelly, county of Fermanagh, widow, aged fifty-three years or thereabouts, being duly sworn, deposeth, that on the 23d day of October last, 1641, she and her husband, Christopher Coates, gent., were robbed and despoiled of goods and means, in all amounting to the sum of 376*l.*, and of all leases and writings her husband then hath, by means of Captain Rory Maguire of Hassetstown, in the barony of Lurgan and the county aforesaid, uncle of the Lord Maguire, Richard Nugent (*illegible*) to the Lord Maguire, and other persons to the number of thirty or thereabouts, of the company of the said Captain Rory Maguire and the rest. And further deposeth, that the said 23d of October this deponent's husband and her son Christopher Coates were murdered by Shane MacMahon, a tenant to the Lord Maguire, and others of his said company. And this deponent herself and her daughter Margaret were wounded in their dwelling-house at Drumully aforesaid, one Pierse MacGilsokill (*sic*), near neighbour to them, being the man that

wounded this deponent, with a sword upon the back of her head, and her right hand, and sore bruised her with blows upon her face, head and body. And afterwards on the 30th day of October last, some of the said Captain Rory's company at Newtown, in the said county, stripped this deponent and her three children. And further deposeth, that she heard some of the said rebellious company then say, and ask the English Protestants they robbed, what they intended to do, or where to go, saying unto them, that if they went for Dublin that was taken by the Lord Maguire, upon the Saturday before, and that there they should find small relief; if for England and Scotland it was as bad there as here, saying further that for all they the rebels did, they had the king's commission.

ELIZABETH + COATES.

Jurat. Jan. 4th, 1641,
Coram HENRY ADAMS.
JOHN WATSON.

VIII.

EDWARD FLACK, of Gurteen Mucklough, in the parish of Kinally, county of Fermanagh, clerk, duly sworn, saith, that on or about the 23d day of October, 1641, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, he was robbed and lost of his goods and chattels, worth 36*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.*, by and by the means of Brian MacRory Maguire, MacThomas Maguire, Shane Roe MacThomas Maguire, Redmond Oge MacJames Maguire, Patrick Oge MacDonnell Maguire, and divers others, who called this deponent a 'base rogue' when he offered to resist them, while they were taking his goods away. And they said what they did to him and others they had good authority for under the king's hand from Scotland. And further saith, that on the evening of the 23d of October, 1641, aforesaid, the rebels took this deponent's Bible, and laying the open side in a puddle of water, leaped and stamped on it, saying, '*A plague on this book, it has bred all this quarrel!*' and they said they hoped that in three weeks all the Bibles in Ireland should be used as that was, or worse, and that none should be left in the kingdom, and the rebels burnt this deponent's house, and some of them cut and wounded him in the head.

EDWARD FLACK.

Jurat. Jan. 4th, 1641,
Coram nobis HENRY JONES.
WM. ALDRICH.

IX.

Charles Shorter, of Callowhill, in the parish of Kinawly, county of Fermanagh, blacksmith, aged forty years or thereabouts, being duly sworn, deposeth, that on the 23d of October last, 1641, he was robbed of his goods and chattels worth 103*l.* by Patrick Oge Maguire of Knockaninny, and Fleartagh Maguire of the same, gent., Dom Maguire, Turlogh Oge Maguire, gent., and divers others Irish rebels, who said that what they did they had the king's broad seal for, and that they did it for the queen. And further saith that the said rebels stripped this deponent, his wife, and three small children of all their clothes; and one of his daughters, when he was flying for his life, was left behind, who was afterwards, he credibly believed, murdered. And further saith that about the first of November last, he saw fourteen English Protestants murdered by the rebels, and at that time they, the rebels, stripped those Protestants of all their clothes. And this deponent further saith, that he saw the aforesaid rebels with their accomplices, drag Mrs. Flack, wife to Mr. James Flack, parson of Enniskillen, out of her own house, swearing they would have arms. And when one Art Maguire, her servant, took part with his mistress to defend her from these outrages, the said rebels twice knocked him down, and miserably beat him.

Charles Shorter.

Jurat. 5th Jan. 1641,
Coram John Watson.
Hen. Puttock.

Note.

The foregoing nine depositions are sufficient to show how mistaken Lord Chichester was, when he wrote to the king on the 24th of October from Belfast, alleging that 'up to that date the rebels had only slain one man.' Edward, Lord Chichester, was a very old man in 1641, and some years before it was felt that his advancing years unfitted him for the office he held, but his own and his elder brother's great services to the State made the king unwilling to urge his resignation, especially as his son acted for him on most occasions. It was not to be expected that either father or son could have known all that went on in the rural districts and towns of Ulster between the 22d and the 24th of October, but the haste with which many historians have accepted the aged Viscount's letter as an indisputable proof that no murders were committed up

to the latter date is inexcusable. Mr. Prendergast, however, goes far beyond them when he states, in the second edition of his *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland* (p. 61), that 'no murders were committed, or even any man in arms killed by the rebels, until late in December.' A month before that date (and after all the above-mentioned murders and many more had been committed) between ninety and a hundred persons at least, men, women, and children, were all at one time flung over the bridge at Portadown and drowned, as the three following depositions prove. Those who cavil at the first of these three, that made by Mrs. Rose Price, will see that in every material point it is confirmed by the indisputable testimony given in 1652–3 by others, one of whom was amongst the crowd of prisoners brought to the bridge, and had a very narrow escape from perishing with the rest. This atrocious massacre took place about All Hallows, or at farthest between that time and the 23d of November (*v.* Deposition xii.), and it is extremely likely to have been one of the chief causes of the severities exercised by Sir Charles Coote in Wicklow, at the end of November or beginning of December. Carte says[1] that Sir Charles left Dublin for Wicklow on the 27th of November, and that 'in revenge for the spoils committed on the English in those parts, he put, without distinction of sex, several persons to death, whom the Irish pretended to be innocent.' The Byrnes, Tooles, and Kavenaghs had before that date possessed themselves of all the castles and houses in Wicklow and Wexford, plundering and ravaging the country up to within four miles of Dublin. Carte admits, for he was no friend to Coote, that he was a man of 'rough and sour temper,' and that he acted cruelly and revengefully in Wicklow and elsewhere, but surely when we take into account the fact that his soldiers were chiefly the English colonists who had been driven out of Ulster three or four weeks before under circumstances of dreadful hardship, that many of them had relatives and friends massacred at Portadown and other places, it was only to be expected that they would retaliate. The worst story told of Coote is, that when he saw one of his soldiers toss an infant on a pike, he said that he 'liked such frolics,' but it rests merely on common hearsay talk, or rumours circulated by his opponents. He and his friends and the Lords Justices emphatically denied it. We may believe that his soldiers killed women and children in Wicklow, but we must admit that if they

[1] Carte, ii. pp. 103, 104, 97.

did so they only acted as the Irish had done some days and weeks before. The father of an infant, or a little girl or boy who had been thrown over the bridge with Mrs. Price's five children, and Thomas Taylor's three sisters, was not likely to measure out much mercy to the children and sisters of the Irish a few days after. No reasonable and impartial person will deny that those who committed horrible murders in Ulster and elsewhere between October 22nd and November 22nd were the responsible parties for Coote's severities after the latter date. It was not in human nature that his soldiers,[1] the relatives of the massacred in Ulster, should have refrained from those severities when they had arms in their hands. We cannot excuse those severities any more than the crimes which provoked them, but it is only fair to state the provocation.

X.

Elizabeth, wife of Captain Rose Price, late of the parish and county of Armagh, duly sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, That about All Hallowtide 1641, this deponent's husband and she at Turkarry, in the parish and county aforesaid, were deprived, robbed, and otherwise despoiled of their goods, chattels, and estate, consisting of cows, young beasts, horses, corn, hay, sheep, plate, household stuff, jewels, rings, ready money, and other goods and chattels worth (*illegible*) thousand nine hundred and seven pounds at least, by the grand and wicked rebel, Sir Phelim O'Neil, from whom her husband bought his land within the county of Armagh, worth 100*l*., and the said Sir Phelim forcibly repossessing himself of the same, taking the profits thereof, which her husband and she are sure to be deprived of and lose until a peace be established. And the other rebels that so robbed and despoiled her are those that are hereafter named, viz. Turlogh Oge O'Neil, brother to the said Sir Phelim, Captain Boy O'Neil, and divers of the sept of the O'Neils, and others whose names she cannot express, their soldiers and accomplices, amounting to a very great number; which said rebels and others of their stock and confederation also robbed all the Protestants in the country thereabouts, and committed divers bloody, barbarous, and devilish cruelties upon and against the persons of a multitude of Protestants there.

[1] 'Sir Charles Coote had a commission for a regiment of the poor stripped English; so likewise had the Lord Lambert.'—Borlase, pp. 29, 38.

And amongst others their cruelties, they took and seized on her this deponent and five of her children, and above threescore more Protestants at that time in the church of Armagh, and having stripped them of all their clothes, cast them all into prison. About a fortnight after that, the rebels, especially the said Sir Phelim, proposed and offered to send away some of the prisoners into England, and to give them safe conduct for that purpose, which offer being embraced, then the rebels declared that they would suffer the children and those that had no means left to go, but as for the rest, and such as had hidden or conveyed away any money from them, those they stayed, and in particular they stayed there in prison, under the said Sir Phelim, the Lady Caulfield and her children, the Lord Caulfield, whom afterwards they murdered; Mrs. Taylor and her son, whom they afterwards hanged; and her this deponent, Mr. Robert (*illegible*), whom they afterwards murdered and mangled his corpse, and his wife's; Pierse Newberry, whom they also afterwards murdered, and Henry Newberry; one Richard Stubb, Richard Warren, whom they also murdered; Richard Roe and William Warren, whom they hacked all to pieces, and divers others.

But as to this deponent's five children, and about forty more, young and poor prisoners, these were sent away with passes from the said Sir Phelim, together with about threescore and fifteen more Protestants, from other places, within the parishes of Armagh and Loughgall, who were all promised they would be safely conveyed and sent over to their friends in England; their commander or conductor for that purpose being, as he afterwards proved to be, a most bloody and accursed rebel, by name Captain Manus O'Cane; and his soldiers having brought or rather driven like sheep or beasts to a market those poor prisoners, being about one hundred and fifteen, to the bridge of Portadown, the said captain and rebels then and there forced and drove all those prisoners, and amongst them this deponent's five children, by name Adam, John, Anne, Mary, and Jane Price, off the bridge into the water, and then and there instantly and most barbarously drowned the most of them. And those that could swim and came to the shore they knocked on the head, and so after drowned them, or else shot them to death in the water. And one of them that was a Scottish minister, swimming below the bridge, to or near the land of one Mr. Blackett, the rebels pursued so far, and then and there shot him to death.

And as for this deponent and many others that were stayed behind, divers tortures were used upon them, to make them confess

their hidden monies and means, and many were murdered after they had confessed all their means left to them, and this deponent and others were often affrighted with a block and a hatchet, which, to put them more in fear, was always left near them, as the engines of death; and this deponent for her own part was thrice hanged up to confess to money, and afterwards let down, and had the soles of her feet fried and burnt at the fire, and was often scourged and whipt; and she and the most of the rest of the prisoners so pined and hunger starved that some of them died, and lay a week unburied, and this deponent and others that survived were forced to eat grass and weeds, and when they asked for liberty to go out and gather their sustenance it was denied, so that hunger forced them to burst open the window in their prison chamber, and to scrape and rake the weeds, moss, or anything that they could possibly take from the walls. And in that or the like and worse distress they continued, and were tossed and haled from place to place, in the most miserable manner, for fourteen or fifteen months together, their allowance of viands being only a quart of oatmeal amongst six for three days and not half water enough. Inasmuch, as at last they had, she is verily persuaded, been enforced to have fed and eaten of them that died, had not the great God Almighty put some end to those great calamitous miseries by the landing of Owen Roe O'Neil, out of Spain, or from some other country beyond the sea. Who, being arrived there, and informed of their miserable torments and sufferings, and what multitudes of people the said Sir Phelim and his confederates had murdered and put to death by the sword, hanging, drowning, famishing, burning, and other cruel and barbarous dealings, he did not only enlarge and set at liberty this deponent and the other prisoners that survived and were there with her, but gave all who asked it a convoy to or near Dundalk. And upon the sight of this deponent's and the other prisoners' miserable and starved condition, he, in this deponent's hearing, exceedingly reproved the said Sir Phelim O'Neil, and his other partakers for their odious and merciless cruelties, saying that they ought to be made suffer and endure the like torments and deaths they had forced and put upon the Protestants. And after some bitter words had passed concerning the same between him (Owen Roe O'Neil) and the said Sir Phelim, he, the said Owen Roe, in part of revenge and detestation of their odious actions, burnt some of the rebels' houses at Kinnard, and said he would join with the English army to burn the rest.

And this deponent further saith, that, before that she, this

deponent, and the wife of one Newberry, the wife of one Prescot, Anne Stubbs, Susan Stubbs, and Elizabeth, this deponent's sole surviving child, and about forty more her fellow prisoners, being women whose husbands were murdered and slain, came with their convoy from Charlemont towards Dundalk, the said Owen Roe O'Neil suffered them all to go up and down the country at their pleasure. And they, hearing of divers apparitions and visions, that were ordinarily seen near Portadown bridge, since the drowning of her children, and the rest of the Protestants there, and they being confidently told that the said Owen Roe O'Neil and his troops were resolved to be at Portadown bridge to inform themselves concerning those apparitions, she, this deponent, and her child, and those other Protestants her companions, at the same time, came to Portadown bridge aforesaid, about Candlemas last, and then and there met the said Owen Roe O'Neil and his troops at the water-side there, near the said bridge, about twilight in the evening. And then and there, upon a sudden, there appeared unto them a vision, or spirit assuming the shape of a woman, waist high, upright in the water, naked with (*illegible*) in her hand, her hair dishevelled, very white, and her eyes seeming to twinkle in her head, and her skin as white as snow; which spirit or vision, seeming to stand upright in the water, divulged, and often repeated the word '*Revenge*! *Revenge*! *Revenge*!' whereat this deponent and the rest being put into a strange amazement and fright walked away a little from the place. And then presently the said Owen Roe O'Neil sent a Romish priest and a friar to speak to it. Whereupon they asked it many questions, both in English and Latin, but it answered them nothing.

And a few days after the said Owen Roe O'Neil sent his drummer to the English army for a Protestant minister, who coming unto him, and being by him desired to inquire of that vision, or spirit, what it would have, the same minister went one evening to the usual place on the water-side, where at the like time of the evening the same, or a like spirit or vision, appeared in the like posture and shape it formerly had done. And the same minister saying, '*In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, what wouldst thou have, or for what standest thou there?*' it answered '*Revenge*! *Revenge*!' very many times, reiterating the word '*Revenge*!' Whereat the said minister went to prayer privately, and afterwards they all departed and left the same vision standing and crying out as before. But after that night for six weeks together it never appeared that either this deponent, or any of the rest that came there upon pur-

pose several times, could hear or observe, yet after six weeks again it appeared and cried as before. So as the Irish that formerly were frighted away by it, and were then come back again to dwell in the English houses thereabouts, in hope it would not appear any more, were then again so affrighted that they went quite away and forsook the place: the like or the same spirit or vision since that time appearing and crying out '*Revenge*!' every night, until this deponent and her child and late fellow prisoners came away with their convoy to Dundalk. And further saith, that the first vision or apparition after the Protestants were drowned, were in show a great number of heads in the water, which cried out in a loud voice, '*Revenge*! *Revenge*!' as this deponent hath been credibly told by the rebels themselves, who also told this deponent that these apparitions were English rebels, as was most commonly reported and believed by most of the Irish inhabitants thereabouts, and others. And the Irish rebels discharging some shot at these heads, flashes of fire then suddenly appeared on the water, as she was also told by them. And that quickly afterwards that same shape or spirit of a woman appeared, and cried all night, beginning about twilight as aforesaid.

And this deponent further saith, that in or during the time that this deponent was kept a prisoner, she observed and well knew that the said Captain Manus O'Cane and his wicked and bloody soldiers fetched from Armagh one (*illegible*) Simon and three of the singing men of the church, his children and his wife, Mr. Robinson, minister; Mr. Spring and one Mr. Griffin, a minister, whose wife and three young children were starved to death with hunger and cold, and near threescore more Protestants out of the place, where they had formerly imprisoned them, and forcibly carried them in her view, and as she was informed by the common report of the rebels, and by the report of the schoolmaster's wife, who went with them, and returned to this deponent, into the church of Blackwater, and there sometimes brought their necks to the block, threatening to cut off their heads with a hatchet, to make them confess their money; at other times hanging them up, and at length letting them, when half dead, down again, at other times mangling, slashing, and cutting them in the church. And when, by this barbarous cruelty and torments, they had extorted from them their full knowledge of money, they took it all from them. Then, that is to say, on or about the 17th of November 1641, these barbarous rebels locked and made all those Protestants, saving the schoolmaster's wife, fast into the church. And that done, setting a strong

guard about the church, set it on fire, and, together with that church, burned to death all those Protestants, whose cries being exceeding loud and fearful, the rebels used to delight much in a scornful manner to imitate them, and brag of their acts. And a great number of other Protestants, principally women and children, whom the rebels would take, they pricked and stabbed with their pitchforks, skeanes, and swords, and would slash, mangle, and cut them in their heads, and breasts, faces, arms, and hands, and other parts of their bodies, but not kill them outright, but leave them wallowing in their blood, to languish and starve them to death. And when those so mangled people desired them to kill them out of their pain, they would deny it, but sometimes, after a day or two, they would dash out their brains with a stone, or by some other cruel way kill them outright, which they accounted done as a great favour, of which she, this deponent, hath in many particulars been an eye-witness.

And when at length the said Manus O'Cane and his soldiers were reproved by Sir Phelim O'Neil, as this deponent was informed by some rebels and Protestants, for so mangling and suffering them to languish, and for suffering the poor women's children to be alive, sucking their mortally wounded, and sometimes dead mothers' breasts, and not killing them outright; then the said Manus O'Cane and his barbarous soldiers murdered more Protestants, whom they would afterwards find, and put aside and conceal their murdered bodies in pits, loughs, holes and bogs, and other obscure places, as this deponent was credibly informed, and she herself saw some women so drowned in a well. And further saith that the rebels did burn in several houses in the parishes of Armagh, Loughgall, and Kilmore, at several times, a great number of Protestants, not long after the beginning of the rebellion, and drowned a great number at Blackwater several times as they could seize and take them. And drowned others at Portadown as aforesaid, and in divers loughs, pools, hollows, and bog-holes, and other places within the said county of Armagh, neither sparing English, Scottish, age or sex, unless specially rescued, or by God's providence taken out of the murderers' hands.

And this deponent further saith that she heard the said Sir Phelim O'Neil and divers of the rebels say that the said Sir Phelim was the O'Neil, and Earl of Tyrone, and that they that did not call him so should lose their heads. And that thenceforth there should not be any English king of Ireland any more. Howbeit some amongst the rebels privately muttered and said amongst themselves,

that the Lord Maguire, if he had taken Dublin, should have been king of Ireland.

And further saith that this deponent was present when she heard the said Owen Roe O'Neil ask the rebels how many Protestants they had drowned at the bridge of Portadown aforesaid, and they answered four hundred. And he asked further how many they had drowned at Blackwater. They answered they had drowned so many there at different times that they could not tell their number, and they confessed they had drowned others in divers loughs, pits, bog-holes, and at so many and several times, they could not tell or guess their number; and saith that it was commonly reported by the rebels themselves, that they took an Englishwoman near the bridge of Portadown, by name the wife of one Arnold Taylor, when she was great with child . . . and then they threw the mother and child into the water.

And this deponent further saith that, whenever divers of the English were about to be murdered, and entreated the rebels upon their knees to let them first say their prayers to God, the rebels in this deponent's hearing, often in Irish words answered and said, '*Cuir hanamone Diaoul*!' which is in English, 'Your souls to the devil!' and at other times would say to the Protestants upon their knees, begging for leave to pray before their death, 'Why should you pray, for your souls are the devil's already?' And then upon and with these words in their mouths would slaughter and put these Protestants to death. And she often heard the common sort of rebels say that when they had destroyed all the English in Ireland they would go with an army into England and destroy the English there. And this deponent hath observed that the rebellious Irish women were more fierce and cruel than the men, and their children to their powers exceeding fierce. Insomuch as she has seen the rebels' children kill English men and women.

And saith that one Thomas Mason, an English Protestant of Loughgall, being extremely beaten and wounded, was carried from the place where he was left lying by his wife and her kinswomen a little way; for revenge of which the rebels most cruelly hacked and slashed and wounded them, and that done dragged the said Mason into a hole, and then and there threw down rubbish and stones upon him, so as that they half buried him in the earth with that weight upon him. The said Mason's wife told this deponent that he cried out and languished two or three days in the ground before he died, so as that his said wife calling them to hear him cry

still [they?] scraped and pulled the rubbish off his face again, and tying her handkerchief over his mouth thereby stopped his breath, so he died. And further saith that the said Owen Roe O'Neil gave unto this deponent and several of the better sort of people that came along with her when they had a convoy eighteenpence in money apiece, and a peck of oatmeal to every two of them, and some money and meal to all the rest. But afterwards when this deponent and the rest met with the Scotch army, under the command of Commander Lesley the (*illegible*), these Scots forcibly robbed and despoiled them of all the money and meal they had left, and bade them go to the rebels and get more. And it is commonly reported by many English that some English that escaped from the rebels and fled to the Scots for succour at the Newry were turned away by the Scots without relief, and were afterwards met with towards Dundalk and murdered by the rebels.

ELIZABETH PRICE +

Jurat. 26*th June*, 1643,
JOHN WATSON. HEN. BRERETON.
WM. ALDRICH.

Note.

As regards the stories of apparitions at Portadown, *v. ante*, p. 136. Five or six years before 1641, an English knight of good estate and ancient family, Sir William Brereton, of Cheshire, travelled through Ireland and Holland. His journals have been published by the Chetham Society. In them he relates an interview he had in Holland with Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia (the ancestress of our royal family), and her children. The Queen asked him many questions about the legends connected with his home in Cheshire, where it was believed that a large bough of one of the trees in his park always fell to the ground before the death of the heir of the Breretons. She also told him several frightful stories of omens, apparitions and witchcraft, in which she was evidently a firm believer. When such beliefs were entertained by intelligent and accomplished women of the highest rank, we cannot be surprised at finding them amongst the middle and lower classes of society in the seventeenth century, nor ought we to doubt the veracity of witnesses on the facts of real life going on around them because they shared in the superstitious weaknesses of their day. The passage in this deposition which relates the murder of Thomas Mason has I think been quite misunderstood by Sir John Temple. In his abstract of it (*v.* Irish Rebellion, p. 166, *ed.* 1679) he says:

'The said Mason's wife told the deponent that he cried out and languished, till his own wife to put him out of pain, rather than hear him cry still, tyed her handkerchief over his mouth and therewith stopped his breath.' The above deposition says that Mason having been 'half buried' under rubbish and earth by the rebels, his wife 'calling them to hear him cry still,' scraped and pulled off the rubbish, &c. Although the personal pronoun 'they' is omitted after the word 'still,' as such pronouns often are in old documents, making the sentences rather confused and obscure except to careful readers, it seems to me that it was meant to be understood, and I have therefore restored it in a parenthesis. The sense certainly appears to be that the woman called back the rebels, and that they finding their cruel work only half done, took her handkerchief and finished it. Some of the errors in Temple's abstracts are due as much to carelessness and superficial reading of the depositions as to a desire to exaggerate the crimes of the rebels.

XI.

The Examination of William Clark, *of Killulta, tanner, aged forty-four years or thereabouts, taken February 28th,* 1653,

Who saith, that at the beginning of the rebellion, he lived in Loughgall, and there was one Manus Roe O'Cahane who, with several of his followers, took him, this examt., with several other Englishmen, as many as they could find, to the number of threescore persons, of the parish of Loughgall, and put them all into the church there, and did set a guard over them, and from thence took them to the Port of Down. And upon the way there they (the rebels) killed Mr. William Fullerton, a minister of the said parish, and another gentleman, Mr. Richard Gladwith, and such English as they met they did take them along with them, so that they were in all about a hundred prisoners at their coming to Portadown, where they were all drowned except this examt., and William Taylor and George Morrice. And several of them striving to swim out, when they came near the land the Irish did either shoot or knock them down with the oars of their boats. And also he further saith that he purchased his life by giving unto them 15*l.*, and the night approaching, they kept him with them all night, and put him into a room in an Englishman's house at Portadown, and the next morning he came out and stood at the door of the said house, where he met

with one that he had formerly prosecuted at the assizes, who swore he would hang this examt., but he remembereth not this man's name. And being demanded who they were of the Irish party that acted those cruelties, saith, he doth not remember any of them now living, but one Rory MacVeagh, now residing about Clanbrassil (as he is informed), who was one of them that guarded those poor people to their deaths. And he saith that the Irish gave out that this was done by Sir Phelim O'Neil's command, but this deponent being kept prisoner, and much affrighted, he doth not remember more particularly what they did.

WILLIAM CLARK.

Jurat. GEORGE RAWDON.

XII.

The Examination of THOMAS TAYLOR, *of Clanbrassil, in the county of Armagh, tanner, aged about twenty-nine years or thereabouts, taken at Lisnagarvey, February 24th,* 1642,

Who saith that about a month after the rebellion began the English then remaining in Glenarm, in the county of Armagh, where this examt.'s father then lived, were gathered together as he heard by order from Sir Phelim O'Neil, to the number of 140, or thereabouts, and they were sent away with a guard, it being pretended or given out that they were to be conveyed to Lisnagarvey safely. And this examt. being to go with them, one Rose ny Neil, a widow, and a neighbour to this examt.'s father, where this examt. came to take leave of her to go with the rest of his friends, she presently went to the door and locked up this examt. in the room all night, and then let him out, and told him that all those English that were sent away were put to death at Portadown, and the said Rose's brother, Captain Hugh O'Neil, took this examt. to serve him and caused him to work for him, in a tan-house belonging to William Taylor, this examt.'s brother.

And he further saith, that his father's two brothers and three of the sisters of the examinant were drowned at that time at Portadown, but his mother escaped and returned the next day, she being great with child, and also another brother of this examt.'s, being about five years old; and they came to the said tan-house to this examt., but he was not suffered to speak with them; but one, Lieut. Donel O'Neil, and David McVeagh, and other soldiers, took him and shut him up in a room till they had thrown his said mother

and his little brother, named Henry Taylor, into the Tollwater, where the said child was drowned; but after his said mother had been lying in the said water they took her out again to discover where she had hid a box with some money and clothes in it, as she afterwards related to this examt.; and also she told him that it was David MacVeagh that threw her said child Henry Taylor into the water, by command of the said Donnel O'Neil. And he further saith, that his said mother fell into labour that night, and her child died first and herself died shortly after.

And he further saith, that the said Donnel O'Neil caused this examt.'s brother, William Taylor, to work for him in the said tan-house till about May following, when the Newry was taken, and the said William and divers others of the English, left in Glenarm, were sent away (as the Irish related by order of Sir Phelim O'Neil) to Loughgall, and were there kept in prison, and a while afterwards were sent away towards Benburb, and were there murdered, but by whom he cannot tell. And he further saith, that Catherine ny Cane, now prisoner, and wife to Hugh O'Neil, often spoke to her husband in this examt.'s hearing to hang this examt., but he refused to hearken to her; but saith that he heard that the first that were murdered in Glenarm, viz. Joseph Handley, his wife, and his three children, who were thrown into the Tollwater, lest they should escape, the said Catherine commanded her man-servant Shane O'Neil to shoot any of them that he should see likely to get out. And this examt. and his brother having afterwards taken the corpses out of the water to bury them, and the said Shane coming by, he touched the said Joseph's corpse with a stick, and it presently bled at the head, where the said Joseph had been shot by the said Shane.

And this examt. saith, that after the taking of the Newry, the said Lieutenant Donnel O'Neil took this examt. to Loughgall at the time when command was given for such of the English as were left to be murdered; and there he saw divers of them newly killed and the soldiers searching for more, but saith he did not know any of these murderers. And the said Donnel then told him if he knew and could discover where any money was hid, he would take him back again to the said tan-house, else he would leave him there to be killed, and did accordingly leave this examt. at Loughgall; but it pleased God he escaped out of their hands and hid himself, and got back to the said tan-house after three days, and the said Hugh O'Neil kept him safe till a party of the English came over the Ban about Lammas, 1642, at which time he made an escape, and came

in with such others of the English as were left alive in Glenarm, to Major Rawdon, who had the command of the said party, and further saith not. And being demanded what he further remembered concerning any murders committed, saith he buried one Henry Pilkington, a neighbour of his, that was hanged near his own dwelling-house, towards Loughgall. And that it was commonly reported that one Phelimy MacCammell, now a soldier with Captain Points, invited him to his own house to dinner and came for him to guard him, and this examt. saw the said Pilkington's doublet on the said MacCammell's back, and further saith not.

Jurat. George Rawdon.

XIII.

The Examination of George Tully, *late of the Truagh in the county Monaghan, servant unto Mr. Bartlett, late (blank) of Glasslough, taken the 4th day of June* 1653, *before Daniel Hutchinson, Esq., Sir Robert Meredith, Knt., and Robert Jeffreys, Esq., appointed by the High Court of Justice sitting at Dublin, to take examination of massacres and murthers.*

The said examt. being duly sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, that he knoweth Owen Roe MacKenna, and that by the reports of the said Owen's kindred and friends, and many others whose names this examt. knoweth not, that the said Owen hath been, since the very first of the rebellion, a most cruel murderer of the English and Protestants. And that he murdered or caused to be murdered many in the province of Ulster since the beginning of the rebellion; and that in particular, he murdered this examt.'s brother Martin Tully and Anne his wife, and two of his children, viz. Elizabeth Tully, being but of the age of two years, and another child of his said brother's, whose name he remembereth not, being of the age of one year and a quarter or thereabouts. And this examt. saith, that the said Owen murdered his examt.'s, said brother and wife and two children at the bridge of Portadown, where he caused them to be thrown off the said bridge into the water, and so drowned them, the said Owen being a principal actor in the horrid massacre, committed at the bridge of Portadown.

George + Tully.

D. Hutchinson.
Robt. Meredith.
Robt. Jeffreys.

XIV.

Elizabeth, relict of William Trueman, late of the town and county of Armagh, gent., duly sworn, deposeth and saith, that since the beginning of the present rebellion, that is to say, about the 1st of November 1641, this deponent's husband and she were deprived, robbed, or otherwise dispossessed of their means, goods and chattels, consisting of cattle, corn, horses, household stuff, ready money, debts, and other things, amounting in all to (*illegible*) by, or by the means of, those known and common rebels, viz. Sir Phelim O'Neil, knt., Turlogh Oge O'Neil, his brother, and their followers; who murdered this deponent's mother, of eighty years of age, and divers others in the town of Armagh. And the rebels drowned the wife of John Arundel, and also the wife of Stephen Percival, who had both their young children sucking at their breasts, whom they drowned also, and left the rest of their poor children to starve, as many of them did. And they also drowned at one time a hundred and sixty Protestants at the bridge of Portadown. And they burned and killed in the parish of Kilmore or Loughgall that she heard of about threescore more, and did divers other cruelties and outrages, as killing of one Mr. Fleming, a minister, and three Scottish men, and this deponent's husband near Lisnagarvey (*illegible*), three women by bringing them to a little lough near Armagh, they then thrust them down, with their swords and pikes, into the water, so as they were drowned, and other extreme outrages, most devilish and barbarous, they committed as she heard from relations of hers.

+ Elizabeth Trueman.

Jurat. 14*th May*, 1643,
John Sterne.
Hen. Brereton.

XV.

Alexander Crichton, late of Glaslogh, in the county of Monaghan, gent., sworn and examined, deposeth, that on or about the 23rd day of October last past, Turlogh Oge O'Neil, brother to Sir Phelim O'Neil, knt., the grand rebel, Edmund Bawn O'Hugh, of Tiranny in the county of Armagh, gent., Brian Oge O'Hugh, of the same, gent., Neil Darg McWade, of Ballymacwade, of the same, yeoman, Patrick MacPhelim, of the same, yeoman, Laughlin O'Gormley, gent., and

many others whose names he knoweth not, came to this deponent's house at Glaslogh, aforesaid, and then and there, by force of arms, robbed and despoiled him, this deponent, of his goods, chattels, and arms, in all worth 547*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* And further saith that when he, this deponent, was so robbed by the rebels, they imprisoned him and his brother-in-law, Alexander Lesly, Alexander Bayley, James Anderson, John Moorehead, James Moorehead, his son, Alexander Ballnigell and his son William, and kept them there in Glaslogh Castle for fourteen days, or thereabouts, in great misery, neither suffering their wives or friends to come to them or bring them relief. From thence the rebels sent them to the gaol of Monaghan for fourteen days more, where they were in no less misery than before; and from thence they were sent back to Glaslogh aforesaid, and there Art MacBrian Savagh MacMahon did gather all the British prisoners, as well as those aforenamed, and others to the number of twenty-two or thereabouts, and sent them to Corbridge. But in their going another company, by the direction of the said Art MacBrian waylaid them, and slew sixteen of them.

And the next morning after that murder the rebels murdered forty-six English at Corbridge aforesaid, when this deponent, notwithstanding escaping with his life, was admitted to go to Sir Phelim O'Neil, who gave him a protection for himself, his wife, and child. And then this deponent heard the said Sir Phelim say that he would give no man an account for what he did, and that he had his majesty's commission for what he did under the great seal of England. And being asked who did put Mr. Richard Blaney Seneschal to Lord Blaney and one of the knights of the shire to death, because it was reported that one Brian MacSavagh MacMahon did it, he, Sir Phelim, answered, '*Let not that gentleman be blamed, for my hand signed the warrant for his* (*Blaney's*) *hanging for persecuting my cousin O'Reilly.*' And further saith, that there was killed by the sept of the MacHughs twelve families of men, women, and children—English and Scottish. And after the repulse of the rebels at Lisnagarvey, Shane Oge MacCanna, and a company of rebels under his command, murdered through all the barony of Truagh a great number of British Protestants, amongst others, Ensign Pierce, Ambrose Blaney, gent., William Challingwood (*sic*), gent., and William, his son, David Drayman, gent., Andrew Carr, weaver, John Lesly, labourer, and his wife. And this deponent heard it credibly reported amongst the rebels themselves at Glaslogh, that Hugh Mac O'Dugan Maguire, a priest, had

done a meritorious act in the parish of Clonally, county of Fermanagh, in drawing betwixt forty and fifty of the English and Scottish there to be reconciled to the Church of Rome, and after giving them the sacrament, demanded of them whether Christ's body was really in that sacrament or no, and they said 'yes' and that he demanded of them further whether they held the Pope to be supreme head of the Church, they likewise acknowledged he was. And that thereupon he presently told them they were in a good faith, and for fear they should fall from it and turn heretics again, he and the rest that were with him cut all their throats.

And this deponent further saith that the wife of Luke Ward told him, this deponent, that the rebels had forced her husband to drink with them, and when he was drunk they hanged him. And she showed this deponent the place where he was executed. And saith also that the rebels pulled up and took away the seats in the church at Monaghan, up to the choir, and carried them to the gaol to make fires with them, and that the rebels at Glaslogh aforesaid burnt three Bibles and service books. And heard them say they would not lay down arms till their Church was put in its due place, and until all the plantation lands were given to the rightful owners, and that if they had once gotten the city of Dublin taken, they would hold it no rebellion to follow the King's sword in doing any act they pleased. And this deponent heard Brian O'Hugh, priest to the said Sir Phelim O'Neil, say, that they had 1,500,000 of the Irish blood to maintain their war. And this deponent further saith that, about the beginning of February last, one Ensign William Pue, of Glaslogh, in Monaghan, being stripped, robbed, and expulsed by the rebels, was seven times in one day taken up and hanged to a tree, and taken down for dead every time, by Patrick Duffe McHugh McRoss, captain of the rebels, which cruelty was practised at the instigation of Patrick Mather McWade, who had informed that the said William Pue had money, the confession and knowledge whereof was intended to be extracted by the said horrid torture.

Alexander Crichton.

Jurat. ult. February, 1641,
John Sterne,
Henry Brereton.

XVI.

Honora Beamond, relict of William Beamond, innkeeper, late of Clouness, in the county Monaghan, sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, that on or about the 23d of October 1641, she and her husband were deprived, robbed and otherwise despoiled of their goods, chattels, profits of a garden, and the benefit of a lease worth 30*l. per annum*, by Redmond MacRory MacMahon, of the Dartry, a captain of rebels, Rory MacPatrick MacMahon, another captain of the rebels, their soldiers and followers, whose names she knows not. And at that time the rebels aforesaid hanged eighteen Scottish Protestants on the church gate of Clouness, and murdered one James Whitehead, an English Protestant, who had been a good housekeeper, after they had robbed him of all his goods when he was going on a message for one Mr. Willoughby. And they also murdered about the same time James Dunshiel, another Protestant, and robbed and stripped of their clothes this deponent, her husband and children, and all the Protestants in the country thereabouts. And the rebels burned this deponent's house and the town and church of Clouness, and this deponent herself saw the corpses of sixteen Protestants, nearly all women and children, near the common mill, after the rebels had there drowned them in a bog or pit, all which corpses were buried in one hole in the highway, near the ditch or bog where they were drowned, in the presence of this deponent. And after she and her husband were robbed as aforesaid, the rebels imprisoned and restrained them, so as they would not suffer them to depart out of the country until about Midsummer 1642, during which time they endured extreme want and misery. But at length the great God in His mercy sent thither the Lord Moore, with an army, who enlarged them from the rebels and brought them to Dublin, where her said husband nine days after died, leaving her this deponent and her children in great want, distress and misery.

Honora Beamond + *her mark.*

Jurat. 7th June, 1643,
Wm. Aldrich.
Hen. Brereton.

XVII.

JOHN KERDIFF, *Rector of the parish of Diserteragh, in the barony of Dungannon, and county of Tyrone, duly sworn,*

Saith, that on or about the 4th day of November last, he was at Ardtra, at Mr. Bradley's house, the parson of Ardtra and Balliclogy, in the same barony and county, and there robbed and despoiled of his goods by the rebels to the value following: In books, 20*l.*; in horses 17*l.*; in debts and ready money, and arrearage of rents, 94*l.*; in wearing clothes and household goods, 36*l.*; in tithes this year due (1642), 100*l.*, all amounting to the sum of 267*l.* The traitorous actions committed, and words spoken by the rebels, against the Protestants were as followeth:—They surprised these forts, viz. Dungannon, Charlemont, Castle Caulfield, Mountjoy, Moneymore, Castle Blaney, Monaghan, Newry, and all the chief forts of the counties of Armagh and Tyrone, and ransacked every town and house which belonged either to English or Scotch.

They murdered the very first day (23d October, 1641) Mr. Madder, minister of the parish of Donoghmore; within a while after they murdered Mr. New, curate to Mr. Bradley, of the church at Ardtra. By one of the (*illegible*) Mr. Blyth was murdered, being first stripped, and afterwards driven out of the town, under colour of conduct, and then within half a mile of it murdered, Mr. Blyth holding Sir Phelim's protection in his hand as if he would call God's vengeance down on those traitorous murderers and trucebreakers. It was also related to me that Mr. Fullerton, minister of Loughgall, and Mr. Morgan Aubrey, were killed at the bridge of Portadown, at which time above sixty or a hundred of the inhabitants of Loughgall were cast into the river and there drowned. Many more murders were committed, and as to robberies, Mr. Bradley of Ardtra was robbed to the value of 1,000*l.*, and turned out of his house. While he was so robbed Sir Phelim O'Neil and his company standing by, the robbers neither leaving hat, coat, doublet, or shirt with him, and his wife is fallen into an extreme frenzy by reason of these outrages. Mr. Dunbar, minister of Donogh (*illegible*), with his wife, and five or six small children, and his old father and mother, were all of them stripped and robbed of their goods and wearing apparel, so that, for a time, the man was distracted, and compelled to tie some straw about him, and, as I am credibly informed, was whipped; and what is become of his wife and children, no man in that country.

could tell me, though I lived within three miles of him. Mr. Wright, Archdeacon of Dromore, had his house, which cost him much, burnt, and I saw him, his wife, and two children in most extreme misery at Charlemont, from whence they journeyed to Kinard. Mr. Robinson, minister of Kilmore, and his wife, lived miserably at Loughgall, having nothing left to satisfy nature, but what they could beg from others, distressed like themselves. Mr. Hastings, minister of (*illegible*), was turned out of his lodgings, and stripped stark naked, in which state he came to the house where I was lodged, where the people of the house durst not give him shelter, fearing lest he should be murdered, for the next day there was search made for him.

When the rebels came from the siege of Augher they, like so many bears robbed of their whelps, killed every Scot they met with: two they shot within less than a musket shot of the house where I lived at one Mr. Harrison's, near Benburb, where by an ambush laid for me by one of Mr. Harrison's servants, I was brought from the house about ten o'clock at night, and by my guide and three rogues more was stripped of all my clothes, and left stark naked, and compelled with only a shirt and a scullion's jerkin, which he gave me, to travel with a poor Englishman, a tanner, about ten miles in the frost and snow, and then to lie in a cold barn, every hour of the night expecting to be slain by rogues thereabouts. This was the third time of my stripping.

The words which I took notice of were, that Sir Phelim O'Neil told me and others in my hearing, that he had commissions for what he did, not only from the chief of the nobility of Ireland, but from his majesty, and had also letters to the purpose from the Earl of Argyle. And that their intentions were only for the liberty of their religion, and for the recovery of their lands, which should appear by the laws of England to be unjustly held from them, and for the king's prerogative, and there were certain reports among them that the king was beheaded in Scotland. Colonel Plunket told us at Armagh that since this exploit was begun, he was one of the chief plotters of it, and was seven years employed in the compassing of it. At Newry we heard a prophecy much undervaluing his majesty, whereby may be seen the loyalty of such as would entertain such fripperies. Colonel Plunket treated us with a great deal of humanity, and in like manner did Friar Malone at Skerry; only this, besides his rebellion, was condemnable in him, that he took the poor men's Bibles that he found in a boat, and cut them in pieces, and cast

them into the fire, with these words, that he would 'deal in like manner with all Protestant and Puritan Bibles.' At Mr. Connor's house, where this friar was, they had Hanmer's 'Chronicles,' out of which they animated the rebels with the story of the Danes who were discomfited by the Irish, though for the most part unarmed, and they paralleled that history with these times. This Friar acknowledged he was fourteen years employed to bring this design (*i.e.* the rebellion) to pass.

The men I took notice of, which bore part in the rebellion, were Sir Phelim O'Neil, general, of Kinard; Turlogh Oge O'Neil, lieutenant-general; Turlogh Groome O'Quin, of the parish of Donoghmore, marshal and governor of Mountjoy; Cormack O'Hagan, governor of Moneymore; Neil Oge O'Quin, captain at Lissan; Randal M'Donnell, governor of Dungannon; Patrick Modder O'Donnelly, of Castle Caulfield; Captain Shane O'Neil, of Killaman and Charlemont; Captain Ma(*torn*) O'Cane, of Loughgall; Captain Brian Kelly, of Charlemont; Captain Alexander Hovendon, of the parish of Tinan; Captain O'Hagan, the younger, son to the said Cormack O'Hagan; and Phelim O'Donnelly. At Armagh they were better than in other places, for elsewhere, as at Dungannon and Loughgall, Moneymore, and places adjacent, all the English and Scotch, a few only excepted, were robbed and stripped, and cast out of their houses, and some of them had their houses filled with the distressed English, as Mr. Chappell's, where were Mr. Southwick, Mr. Whittaker, Mr. Bradley and his wife, Mr. Bennet and divers others, so that every room of the house was filled. At Tom Taylor's also, were Sir William Brownlow and his lady, and his children, and many others, so in like manner elsewhere, where I was not well acquainted. Those at Armagh had better quarter than elsewhere, for at the first insurrection they fortified the Church, and kept out the rebels; but at length, upon promise of quarter, under the hand and seal of Sir Phelim, they trusted themselves to his promise. Mr. Cheesman, minister of Lissan and Disart, was the first day imprisoned in the Castle of Moneymore, all his goods and money seized upon, and a fortnight after, with the rest of the inhabitants of Moneymore, was sent out of the town. Mr. Beveridge, minister of Killaman, was robbed and stripped, and turned out of his house, with his wife and children, and lived at Loughgall when I left the country.

At Dungannon, the Irish reported there was a vision seen a little before this insurrection began of a woman walking around the town with a spear in her hand. When any would approach her,

she would seem to go away from them, when any would go away from her, she would draw near to them. This vision also, they say, appeared before Tyrone's former rebellion. At Armagh, Colonel Plunket told us of another vision seen at Lisnagarvey, which he and about twenty more beheld after the battle there (wherein the Irish lost very many of their men, and most of their arms), there was a house set on fire at the end of the town, by the light of which fire they discerned a number of horsemen moving to and fro, the number seemed to the Colonel to be about 1,000 or 1,500, upon which relation I was bold enough to inquire of him whether they seemed their own men, or the enemies. He answered that sometimes they conceived them their own, sometimes their enemies. Yet, I believe, they could hardly seem their own, because amongst them they had not near so many horses. And I further desired to know what they supposed them to be; he answered, that they conceived them to be fairies, or such like. At Ardtra we were set upon by some of the Scots, of whom Robert Stewart, brother of the Lord of Castle-Stewart, was the chief, who took some of our goods out of the house, and many of our horses and arms from us.

JOHN KERDIFF.

Jurat. the last day of Feb. 1641,
Coram WM. ALDRICH.
JOHN STERNE.

XVIII.

ANNE READ, the relict of Hilkiah Read, late of (*illegible*), in the parish of Drumrelighe, in the county of Leitrim, gent., sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, that about the 23d of October last, and since the beginning of the present rebellion, her said husband and she were expelled from, deprived, robbed, or otherwise despoiled of their goods and chattels, worth 210*l.* Besides, the rebels forcibly took away her husband's evidences and writings, of the present value of which she cannot give an estimate, which robberies and spoils were committed by, and by the means of, Donell MacGauran, of the county Cavan, a commander among the rebels, and divers of his rebellious servants and wicked orders, whose names she knows not (*sic*), and by Donnel O'Reilly, Henry O'Reilly, and Rose ny Reilly, this deponent's late servants.

And further saith, that Ellen, the wife of the said Donnell O'Reilly, having the nursing of a young male sucking child of this

deponent's, stripped him of his clothes, as this deponent verily believeth, and brought him to this deponent, who being stripped of all her means, had not wherewith to relieve the child, so that he by cold and famine died. And another of her sons, called Stephen Read, being about six years of age, was about the 10th of February last, 1641, in the house of one James Gray, of the Cavan, and going forth to play there, there gathered about him six Irish children of that town, who suddenly fell upon him in such a manner, that some with sticks, and some with stones, burst and broke out his brains, put out his eyes, and bruised his body extremely, so that he by these wicked young imps, who were none of them, as she is persuaded, above eight years of age, quickly after died, and had been killed outright in the place had not an Englishwoman come thither, and took up the dying child from them, saying to them that she wondered they could find it in their hearts to so deal with a poor child. But they answered they would do as much to her, if they were able, as she and Mrs. Gray afterwards told this deponent.

And further saith, that John O'Reilly, son to Edmund O'Reilly, now of Clowater (*sic*), Mr. Cullam's castle, is now by the rebels made sheriff of the county Cavan, and that both the said John and Edmund O'Reilly and one Phelim MacGauran, gent., Daniel MacGauran, gent., and Charles MacGauran, all of the county of Cavan, Richard Ashe, of Lissamaine, in the parish of Drumlahin, who is gone from the Protestant church to mass, and was commissary of the bishop's court, Philip MacHugh MacShane O'Reilly, of Bellenagar, in the parish of Castletown, county of Cavan, gent., who now liveth at Mr. Taylor's house in Balliheys, Philip Maolmor O'Reilly in the county, Edmund O'Reilly of Clowater, in the county of Cavan, gent., and Garret O'Reilly, in the parish of Dromlahin in the county of Cavan, gent., are and have been in actual rebellion, and have borne arms with and amongst the rebels, robbed, stripped, and received the Protestants' goods when they were taken from them, and have committed other outrages. And that Philip Maolmor O'Reilly, who hath formerly been very kind to the robbed and spoiled English, and relieved them very much, doth now keep and harbour the rebellious soldiers; but this deponent thinketh he doeth it for fear only. And further saith, that this deponent's husband, coming out of England to Dublin, and hearing of the rebellion, and being told that this deponent and her children were robbed, stripped, and dead in a ditch, he being overcome with grief, and believing the same to be true, fell into a sickness whereof he soon after died. And this

deponent having so lost her husband, two of her children, and being robbed and stripped of all her means, is now by grief and extreme want a miserable object of pity, and she hath not wherewithal to maintain herself and her three surviving children.

ANNE READ.

Jurat. 12*th July*, 1642,
EDWARD PIGOTT.
JOHN STERNE.

Note.

A light pen stroke has been drawn across the name of 'Philip Maolmor O'Reilly,' where it first occurs amongst the list of rebels in the original MS., and the following words are written in the margin opposite to the passage which says he 'harboureth the rebellious soldiers' for 'fear only': 'The reason why she conceiveth this to be so is because she heard some of the English who were harboured by him report, that the rebels in action did call the said Philip an "English churl," or, according to their Irish, "*Boddagh Sassenagh*!" because he did offer to relieve any English, and they, the Irish, threatened to burn his house for it.'

XIX.

JAMES SHAW, of Market Hill, in the county of Armagh, innkeeper, sworn and examined, saith, that on or about the 27th of November, 1641, when the rebellion was new begun, and since, this deponent was deprived, robbed, &c., of his goods and chattels, debts, &c., worth 350*l.* at the least. And saith that the parties that so robbed and despoiled him were the rebels following, viz. Donogh Oge MacMurphy, of the Fews, in the county of Armagh, a captain of the rebels, with sevenscore or eightscore rebellious followers that came from the Fews in a hostile manner, and Hugh Buie McDonnel, of the same county, captain of a hundred more rebels or thereabouts of his company, and one Collo MacEiver MacDonnell, and all forcibly robbed and despoiled not only him this deponent, but all the rest of the Protestants in these parts, and that those and other rebels thereabouts have then and since by killing, drowning, and starving, put to death above 1,500 Protestants within three parishes, viz. the parishes of Mullabrack, Logilly, and Kileluny (*sic*). And this deponent was, by Turlogh Oge O'Neil, kept, together with his wife and children, as prisoners with others, and durst not stir abroad in the house of the said Turlogh at Clon (*illegible*), in the county of

Armagh, for about six months together, where his wife died of grief, and his three daughters also, and this deponent was at length ransomed in exchange for a Popish priest by the means of the Rt. Hon. the Lord Montgomery, and so escaped with his life.

And he saith, that during the time he, this deponent, was so restrained and stayed amongst the rebels, he observed and well knew that the greatest part of the rebels in the county of Armagh went to besiege the Castle of Augher, where they were repulsed, and divers of the rebel O'Neils slain; in revenge whereof, the grand rebel, Sir Phelim O'Neil, knt., gave direction and warrant to one Maolmurry McDonnell, a most cruel and merciless rebel, to kill all the English and Scottish men within the three parishes aforesaid; whereupon that bloody rebel, with his soldiers, most cruelly murdered within a musket shot of this deponent's own house, twenty-seven men of Scottish and English Protestants, and left them lying there, when this deponent, to the great hazard of his life, and by the assistance of two of the said Turlogh Oge's servants, commanded by said Turlogh to assist him, buried them all, not daring to carry them to the church or churchyard. And he, the said Maolmurry, and his soldiers had also murdered this deponent and his family, as this deponent is verily persuaded, but that they were rescued from him by the said Turlogh Oge O'Neil, and afterwards protected by the said Sir Phelim.

And those wicked, rebellious murderers, about six weeks after, gathered all the Protestants—men, women, and children—together, of those three parishes by sevenscore or eightscore at a time, and forced and drew them away from thence into the county of Down, and there drowned them in a lough near to Loughbricklan, and at a place called Scarvagh, and other places thereabouts. So that indeed many British families in those three parishes were wholly depopulated and destroyed, both men, women, and children, none escaping that were sent out of those parishes, but such as were saved by or by the means of the said Turlogh Oge O'Neil, which were about three or four hundred.

And this examt. further saith, that many of the mere Irish rebels, in the time of this deponent's staying in restraint amongst them, told him very often, and it was quite a common report amongst them, that all those that lived about the bridge of Portadown were so affrighted with the cries and noise made there by some spirits or visions, for revenge, that they durst not stay there, but fled away, and this deponent observed and saw them to come

thence so affrighted (as they professed) to Market Hill, saying they durst not stay at Portadown, or return there for fear of those cries and spirits, but took ground and made creaghts in or near the said parish of Mullenabrack. And this deponent saith, that two of the Irish rebels, whereof one was of the name of Magennis, of the county of Down, said within this deponent's hearing, and swore he was present when a bloody villain, attempting after he had drowned many others to drown a Mrs. Campbell, a goodly, proper gentlewoman, and a Protestant, and for that offering violently to thrust her into the water, she suddenly laid hold of and caught him in her arms, that wicked rebel, and they both falling into the water, she held him there fast, until they were both drowned.

JAMES SHAW.

Jurat. 14*th August*, 1643,
EDWARD PIGOT.
HENRY BRERETON.

XX.

The Examination of MARGARET YONGE, *of Londonderry, widow, taken upon oath, the* 13*th of April*, 1653,

Who, being duly sworn and examined whether she knows of any murders, massacres or robberies committed by Neil Oge O'Quin and James MacVeagh, saith, that her husband James Yonge, living at Lissan, a tenant under Sir Thomas Staples, and one John Armstrong, of the same place, were taken prisoners by some of the Irish rebels then serving under the command of Neil Oge O'Quin at Lissan aforesaid, and upon the thirteenth day after they were so taken prisoners, both of them being then taken out of their houses where they were then kept, they were murdered in this examt.'s presence by the soldiers of the said Neil Oge O'Quin, in which action the said James McVeagh, who is the only man whose name she can remember, was most forward, and did with his own hands, after her husband was fallen to the ground, with several strokes cut off his head from his body, having first kicked him, saying, 'this rogue is not yet dead.' And this examinant sayeth, that at the same time, they likewise murdered one John Yonge, who was then also a prisoner with the rebels; and being asked whether she knows whether those murders were committed by the directions or orders of Neil Oge O'Quin, saith that she doth not know, but had cause to believe that the Irish would not otherwise have committed these murders, they being then under the immediate command of the said

Neil Oge O'Quin, who was the principal actor in the rebellion in that place. And being asked if she doth know of any other murders committed by the said Neil Oge and James MacVeagh, or any other of the rebels, saith that she was not an eye-witness unto any more. But she saith that she heard that the said James MacVeagh was the man that did murder Andrew Young, her brother-in-law. And that divers others of the British then living upon the lands of Sir Thomas Staples were murdered about that time by the rebels, who served under Neil Oge O'Quin as aforesaid, which she believeth could not have been done unknown to the said Neil Oge. And further saith not.

MARGARET + YONGE.

This Examination was taken on oath before us,

THOMAS NEWBURGH.
JOHN REEVES.
OWEN WYNNE.

Note.

The evident care and caution of this witness not to swear to anything as of her own knowledge, which she only knew of by report, is remarkable. It was due in a great measure, doubtless, to the care of the parliament Commissioners and magistrates in 1652–4, who sifted and questioned the cause of each witness's knowledge of what he states in a way that contrasts strongly with the line taken by the royalist and clerical Commissioners of 1641–4. But, as Reid justly observes, the excited state of the public mind in those latter years made Commissioners and witnesses more liable to err, and to magnify the reports of the horrors that were going on around them. At the same time we are not to reject all the evidence of the earlier depositions on that account. Much of it is fully confirmed by those of later date, which cannot be impugned.

XXI.

The Examination of the Lady CHARITY STAPLES, *relict of Sir Thomas Staples, deceased, taken upon oath at Londonderry, the 25th of April,* 1653,

Who, being duly sworn and examined what she can say to the examinations of John Redfern the elder, and James Redfern his son, concerning sundry murders and robberies set forth by them to have been committed by several persons in rebellion, saith that it is

certain that Hugh Russell of Moneymore, merchant, and George Higginson, parish clerk of Lissan, were murdered by the rebels about the time that the rebellion first broke out, but by whom they were murdered she cannot particularly say, for it was done when she was a prisoner with the rebels at Moneymore. And further saith, that she looked out of the window where she was kept, and did see the Scotswoman and her five small children, mentioned in the deposition of John Redfern the elder, with several others of the British nation, driven along by the rebels to be murdered, and that she saw the rebels at that time cutting and slashing the poor British as they so passed by her window, amongst whom there was one Archy Laggan, miserably cut, his two arms being half cut off, his head cut, and one of his ears half cut off and hanging down, besides several other grievous wounds; insomuch that she heard him cry out and beg them for God's sake to give him leave to lie down and die. At which time she said there were seventeen of the British nation murdered. And saith that though Cormac O'Hagan commanded that place, yet that she was made a prisoner there by the order and command of Neil Oge O'Quin, and she doth believe that what was done with those murdered, was by his orders, or at least with his counsel, consent or approbation, the said Neil Oge being the prime rebel and most active in these parts. And further saith, that she knows the said John Redfern the elder, and James Redfern his son, to be men of consideration and credit, and that she hath just cause to believe that the particulars in their examinations set forth upon their knowledge are true. And further saith not.

CHARITY STAPLES.

THOS. NEWBURGH.
OWEN WYNNE.

Note.

The joint deposition of the Redferns, father and son, to whose character Lady Staples testified, is very long, and in part torn and illegible. It contains the usual inventory of goods lost, or stolen, or destroyed, and a long list of the names of the rebels, including Neil Oge O'Quin. These rebels claimed the most part of Londonderry as their own. The witnesses swear, that Captain Cormac O'Neil caused Mr. Matchett, the parson of Magherafelt, to be murdered, and that Higginson and Russell, a Scotchwoman great with child and her five small children, Aubry Logan, Thomas Hartspur, Edward Ludnam, Thomas Ludnam, Andrew Young and his son, Richard Jennings, and a woman were also murdered by the rebels

under the said Neil Oge. And that Captain Shane O'Neil, 'of a place called Killanaman,' kept a number of Scots all the winter to plough and sow his corn, and in May caused them all to be murdered in one night, men and women. The Redferns also deposed, that they had been told that seven thousand persons died of pestilence or starvation in Coleraine, while that place was besieged by the Irish, and that four hundred of the besieged died in two days. This part of the Redferns' deposition is very exaggerated, and that it seemed so to the Commissioners is evident, from their questions to Lady Staples as to the credit of the witnesses. But their report of the cruelties and murders committed by O'Quin and his rebels at Moneymore and Lissan is fully sustained by the depositions of Lady Staples and Margaret Younge or Yonge, who are careful to state distinctly what they only heard of from others. An account of the state of Coleraine in 1641–2, written by a Protestant clergyman, who was among the besieged, is preserved amongst the *Stearne* MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin. I give the following extract from it, in correction of Redfern's hearsay statements :—

> 'This town, built by the city of London, is the second in the county of Londonderry, of reasonable capacity and handsome structure, and the only walled town between Derry and Carrickfergus; by reason whereof, it was the common sanctuary and sole refuge of all the neighbouring places about it. Near twenty ministers of the gospel, whereof myself was one, preserved, like Job's escaping messenger, to tell the story, fled thither, with a great multitude of people; so that when all possible harbouring in the houses failed, within and without the walls, and all round the churchyard were filled with little huts packed with poor people.'

A great thunderstorm broke over the town on the 11th of February, which destroyed the church steeple, and killed several persons near the walls, just before the defeat of the Protestant troops at Ballymoney. After this the writer continues :—

> 'We were pent up within our trenches, like so many sheep for the slaughter, whereupon, for want of fresh air or wholesome food, a pestilence came to take up the leavings or gleanings of the sword, though the number of the dying within the walls, in comparison of the slain without and in the fields, may justly style them by the name of death's harvest, rather than his gleanings. For in the space of four months there died a hundred a week constantly, sometimes a hundred and fifty persons, by all just accounts taken (but not till after the rage of death grew notably)

by Henry Beresford, gent., who was one of the last that closed that black roll, or bill of mortality; so that the number of the dead may well be computed to reach unto 2,000 people, old and young. Death, with his two great scythes, pestilence and the sword, seldom hath within the compass of so narrow a place, not containing a hundred houses, in so short a time a quicker dispatch, or execution of his condemned prisoners.'

The misery and loss of life in Coleraine were thus, it will be seen, great, but not so enormous as Redfern's hearsay report of the siege would lead one to believe.

XXII.

The Examination of William Skelton, *servant to Mr. Coale, of Thomas Court, aged thirty-seven years, or thereabouts, being duly sworn and examined, before us this* 26*th day of February*, 1652, *for and concerning the first rising up of Sir Phelim O'Neil and other rebels in the north in this late rebellion.*

He saith, that he was a servant of the said Sir Phelim O'Neil at the very beginning of the rebellion, and dwelt at his house of Kinard, in Tyrone, and two years before, or thereabouts, in the nature of an husbandman, and understood nothing of the motives and intentions of the rebels about their bloody murders and outrages, until upon Friday in the afternoon, being the 22d day of October, 1641, as he best remembers. He, then being in the field with the plough of the said Sir Phelim, there was heard a great cry about the said town of Kinard, and thereupon another servant of the said Sir Phelim, named Nachtin O'Hugh, came to the field to this examt., having about twenty more men with him, and told him, this examt., that they, meaning the Irish (of whom he was one himself), were risen about their religion. And the said Nachtin, together with the other twenty rebels, with cudgels in their hands, went to the house of Mr. Humphrey Potter, Henry Brasse, William Copeland, and the widow Kendall, all English people that lived together about a mile from Kinard, on the said Sir Phelim's lands, and were Protestants who had great stock on their lands, and ploughs going, and lived plentifully and peacefully, and were to this examt.'s apprehension, well beloved by their neighbours of the Irish, and differed not in anything, as this examt. doth remember, save only that the Irish went to mass, and the English to the Protestant

church, in Tinane, a mile from Kinard, where one Mr. Robert Maxfield was a minister, and a constant preacher of God's Word, and where the said Sir Phelim O'Neil himself, as this examt. hath been credibly informed, by some of his fellow servants, did sometimes resort after his coming over from England, but before the coming of the examt. to the said Sir Phelim's service. And there the said Nachtin and the other twenty rebels did disarm the said Mr. Humphrey Potter and the English before named, and for that time took from them only their arms and best horses, that were fit to make troop horses. In the same manner the said rebels disarmed and pillaged the other English inhabitants in Kinard, and thereabouts, and likewise all the Scots there, who likewise were wealthy people, and well to pass.

In the meantime Sir Phelim himself, with his brother Turlogh Oge O'Neil, Hugh Cro' O'Neil, and divers others his kinsmen, under pretence, as was generally reported, were gone to Charlemont to (make) merry with Lady Caulfield, but indeed to surprise the fort of Charlemont, as afterwards appeared, for after the surprisal thereof, the said Sir Phelim and his rebellious followers took the said Lady and her son, the Lord Caulfield, prisoners, and kept them in Charlemont, for the space of three months or thereabouts, and then sent the said lady to the house of Mr. Charles Boulton, of Killinaul, two miles from Kinard, and the said Lord they carried prisoner to Kinard (to the house of the said Sir Phelim), who as he was entering in at the outward gate of the said house, one Art Clogholy O'Hugh fired his piece at the said Lord Caulfield, but missed to discharge it, only fired in the pan, whereupon another rebel named Edmund Boy O'Hugh raised his piece and shot the said lord, who being on foot fell down, uttering these words, 'LORD, HAVE MERCY UPON ME!' All this time this examinant stood looking out a window in the house at Kinard, but durst not go out, the said Sir Phelim being then abroad with his rebels, who by that time were gone into a posture of war.

And this examt. saith, that, about a fortnight after the said first rising at Kinard, on the 22d day of October aforesaid, the rebels began to murder and massacre the English Protestants, for before they had only pillaged and plundered them, beginning first with the best of their estates, in their cattle and corn, and their household stuff at another time, and lastly with their clothes and lives. He, this examt., doth know of himself, the murders hereinafter mentioned, viz. one Edward Boswell, who was come over but a year before from England, upon the invitation of the said Sir Phelim,

his (Boswell's) wife having nursed a child of the said Sir Phelim's in London, was killed together with his wife and child at their own house, at Kinard, about Christmas time, after the rebellion; Boswell being stabbed in divers places in his body, with skeans, and thrown into a well at the back of his house, his wife had fourteen wounds with skeans in her body, and was left dead on the threshold of her door, their child being about a quarter year old, had a skean stuck through its body and heart, and was thrown and hid in a turf stack, with the skean sticking in its body. The same night Humphrey Potter and his wife were murdered in the said town of Kinard, John Wynn and his wife were murdered the same night, Henry Brasse and his wife, and John Leatherborrow and his son were murdered the same night, and Jane Armstrong and her three children were murdered, and a glazier and his wife and mother-in-law, and his two children were murdered the same night, all in the town of Kinard. At the same time was one priest Oghie (*sic*), a mass priest, governor of the house of Kinard by Sir Phelim's appointment.

And presently after the said Sir Phelim himself came to his said house of Kinard, and appointed another governor under him there, instead of the priest and departed, doing no punition for the time on any of the bloody murderers. And afterwards, about Easter following, about five and fifty persons, of English and Scotch, all tenants to the said Sir Phelim, and dwellers at Kinard or thereabouts, were driven together in a flock to the water-side at Kinard, and there drowned, and on May day following, immediately upon the overthrow of the Irish and English at the Newry, Mr. Maxfield being prisoner at one of the O'Neil's houses, and Mr. Akeley and his two sons, and one Mr. Henry Cowell, were taken out by Turlogh Oge O'Neil, the said Sir Phelim's brother, and hanged; and after that, on the said May day, the said Turlogh and his bloody rebellious crew of about sevenscore and odd, marched from the said hanging place to the land of the Curr, and gathered together all the English inhabitants and Scottish Protestants there, to the number of sevenscore and thirteen persons, and led them to the bridge of Curr, and drowned them all, save nine persons, who were begged back again by Daniel Bawn of Crawley, and his wife, who was daughter to an Englishman. All these murders could not be unknown to the said Sir Phelim, and most of them were done and committed, as this examt. believeth in his conscience, by the privity and appointment of the said Sir Phelim; the cause of his belief is because he, the said Sir Phelim, was the Chief Commander of the rebels in those parts, and none durst have

committed such murders, as these last-mentioned murders, without his consent and connivance, at least, especially the last two inhuman and barbarous murders acted by his brother Turlogh, who did all by his brother Sir Phelim's direction, and the country was generally of this examt.'s belief, and did so report; and the reason wherefore the said Sir Phelim should give such commands, this examt. conceived to be, because many of the men were able men for arms, and might join with the English and Scotch, and strengthen them against his party of rebels.

And further saith, that Sir Phelim O'Neil was never seen to grieve for any of those that were murdered except his nurse and the death of the Lord Caulfield, and that may fully appear by this, that he placed again in the government of his own house at Kinard the said mass priest, who was governor of it at the time of the murder of the said nurse and Lord Caulfield.

This examt.'s cause of the knowledge of the murder of the said Lord Caulfield is before declared, of the murder of the said Boswell and the rest at Kinard about Christmas aforesaid, for he himself being a prisoner in Kinard House, was sent out to bury their dead bodies. But as for the rest of the murders, since that time acted, as it is before set forth, the cause of his knowledge is, because he was told thereof by many, and in particular by one Quinton Glastonbury, Thomas Dykes, and John Porson, who were prisoners with this examt. in Kinard, and had escaped drowning by the means of Daniel Bawn and his wife before mentioned. And lastly, this examt. being demanded what the general report of the Irish about the then stirs and bloody massacres was, answered that they intended to free the land from the English, for he sayeth that news came daily to prison to them, of the daily massacres, spoils and murders committed upon the English, and of the intention of the Irish to make the Lord O'Neil, meaning Sir Phelim, general of all the forces in Ulster; and had it not been by the mercy of God, in stirring up the heart of the said Daniel Bawn and his wife to take pity on this examt. and many other poor stripped Englishmen and women, to save their lives and to relieve them with food, this examt. in all likelihood had not at present given in this his just and true information.

The mark of Wm. Skelton.
+

Taken before us, the said
26th Feb. 1652,
Edw. Ryves.
Rd. Tighe.

XXIII.

I Anthony Atkinson, servant to Robert Branthwaite, Esq., late of Carrickmacross, in the county of Monaghan, being examined touching the demeanour of the rebels in the said county towards myself and others of the English nation, do declare upon my oath, that on Saturday, the 23d of October last, 1641, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, I heard great rushings out of my chamber in the Castle of Carrick aforesaid, where I was writing, which (noises) seemed to me to be below in the hall of the said house. Whereon I left my room, and went down to the stairs' head, where I met with Sheely O'Kelly, a fellow servant, who told me the house was full of soldiers. Upon that I retreated to my own chamber again, where I drew down my sword, and brought it out in my hand, locking my chamber door after me, and leaving the key in it. Then I made down the stairs, where I met Gillis McClaire; Pierse O'Byrne; Patrick McCon; McToole McMahon; Rosse Bisse McMahon; Neil O'Hugh; Brian MacToole; Oge McMahon, all of Farney, in the county aforesaid; together with three or four more, whose names I cannot now remember, with swords, short pikes, and skeans, and when I wished to make them stand, till such time as I should know what was their business there, they gave me no answer, but offered to come violently upon me. Notwithstanding, with my sword I resisted them until such time as they brought one or two more, with long pikes and a fowling-piece, who forced me to leave the place and fly back again to the head of the stairs, whither they followed and took me prisoner; giving me several wounds in my arms and head. From thence a party of them brought me down stairs, but the rest of them stayed behind and broke my chamber door and took 19*l.* 15*s.*, or thereabouts, out of my trunk. At the stairs' foot I did imagine if I could have rescued myself and got from them into the town, I should have taken the money from them again, which they came for on purpose, as thought, not dreaming of anything else, for at that time there was very near 600*l.* in the house, of my Lord of Essex's money, as I heard my master say. So making a thrust from thence to the foot of the stairs, I got out of their hands, and took through the hall with all speed, down into the Court, where at the gates two men stood with either of them a fowling-piece, which they bended then upon me,

who told me if I removed from the place where I then was, they would forthwith shoot me.

A little while after, one Mr. Patrick McLoughlin McMahon, a bailiff of my Lord Essex, now a captain among the rebels, came in at the gate on horseback, with a cocked pistol in his hand, and after I had inquired of him what was the cause of that great uproar, he forthwith made answer, that they must take us prisoners, for the king, and afterwards the said Patrick rode along further into the Court. Not long after, I obtained liberty to go forth at the guard of the Castle, and there meeting with Mr. Patrick McEdmund McMahon, now their Marshal as they themselves said, I made further inquiries of him why they should take us prisoners, to which he answered, that the reason was a manie (*sic*) of Scots were come over into Ireland, with arms to overthrow the Irish nation, or to that purpose, and that therefore all Ireland was up at that instance, and that the Castle of Dublin was taken, Monaghan, Castle Blayney, and several other strengths, the night before; adding further, that if they had not risen in that hostile manner, they should have suffered persecution for their religion, as the Parliament in England had already decreed and set down for it, as many as would not have turned Protestants and gone to church.

After that I went to Collo McBrian McMahon, now one of their colonels, and acquainted him how I had been abused in the house by some of his ancient followers and others; how they had wounded me, taken my sword from me, and the most part of 20*l.* out of my trunk, to which he made answer he was sorry for it, and that I should have my money again, but since that I never saw a penny of it. Then, turning myself about, I saw Mr. Richard Blayney, Mr. Edward Blayney, my Lord Blayney's eldest son, and some gentlemen in their company, who they (the Irish) had taken prisoners; all of which, together with my master, Mr. Thomas Russell, his wife, Mr. Williams with his whole family, myself and some others of the town, were put up into the upper rooms of the castle, where they set a guard upon us that night. The next day, being Sunday, they brought in my Lady Blayney and her younger son, Mr. Richard Cope, Mr. Walter Cope, Mr. Anthony Cope, Mr. Nicholas Elcock, Mrs. Anna Cope, Mrs. Clotworthy, her daughter and some others, whose names I cannot now remember, and brought them up to us in the same rooms where we were, setting a stronger guard upon us. There we continued till the next day at eleven o'clock, at which time the Lady Blayney and her two sons,

Mr. Richard Cope, Mr. Richard Blaney, Mr. Walter Cope, Mr. Anthony Cope, Mr. Nicholas Elcock, Mrs. Anna Cope, Mrs. Clotworthy, her daughter, and some others I cannot name, were sent to Monaghan Castle, upon several poor garrons, where they continued till of late they were lodged in several parts of the town, except Mr. Richard Blaney, who was hanged in the garden at the back of the castle, by Art McBrien Saunagh McMahon, and his associates, as I am credibly informed; the rest with myself remained in several parts of the town, where we had some small allowance of muttons weekly.

About a fortnight after Coll McBrian with his forces had besieged the town of Tredagh, there came Pierce O'Birne and Hugh McEdmund, and half a score in their company, who laid Mr. Williams and myself both in bolts together, where we continued for two days and two nights, but at the instance of my master we were released of them afterwards, so long as we remained in that town.

Upon the 2d day of January last, being Sunday, and the afternoon, Mr. Boyle, minister of our town, Mr. Williams, Mr. Gabriel Williams, and myself, were in the house of Margaret Cesars, conferring together at the fireside about the present troubles we were in. But having not been there above half an hour, there came a great many about it, of the rebels, viz. Patrick and Henry Cane O' (*illegible*), Hugh McManus McMahon, Art Duff McMahone, Patrick McTuol McMahon, and others whose names I cannot now remember, to the number of twenty or upwards, eight or nine whereof entered the rooms that we were in, and upon the first sight drew their weapons, swords and skeans, and offered to stab and wound us, and spoke in the Irish tongue, of which we understood very little. So that Mr. Williams seeing, as he thought, death approach, fell down upon his knees at the end of a long table, and began to pray to God for the remission of his sins. Mr. Boyle was presently taken away and put into his own chamber; Mr. Gabriel slipped under their arms into another room, where they wounded him and kept him fast. Upon that I made at Patrick MacHenry Bane O'Birne, the chief rebel in that place, and got hold of him, with his skean drawn, while one of them with a sword gave me several wounds in the head, another wounded me in the hands with his skean to the number of seven or eight wounds. After a struggle betwixt us, I called to Mr. Williams and prayed him to come and aid me, that we might fight for our lives, to which he made me no

answer, but continued in the same place kneeling. When I saw that, I let the rebel go, and slipped up at the back of a table, where he made several thrusts at me, though by God's good Providence I escaped, and fled to the upper end of the table, where Mr. Williams was. Presently upon that, they laid hands on us, bound our hands behind our backs with withes, and then with a cord tied us both together. From that place they led us out of the house into a little barn, where they used to thresh corn, then they unloosed the rope, and the master rebel, Patrick McHenry Bane O'Birne, took it and put it about Mr. Williams' neck, hung his body over the inside of the door until he was dead, and afterwards pulled him down and stripped him naked.

By that time the rest of the wicked crew without brought his brother-in-law, Mr. Ishell Jones, and used him as the former, and after him Mr. Gabriel Williams, but before they had done execution upon him, I was sent for out at the instance of one Owen O'Murphy, who commanded the rebels in all those wicked and fearful acts; the said Owen brought me up to the place where my master was, and took one Redmund Burke bound for my safe imprisonment, at whose house I remained still after during my stay in that place. That day there suffered besides those before mentioned, Richard Hollis, Miles Powley, Thomas Osburne, John Morriss, John Hughes, Richard Gates, Philip Farley, George Greene, Edward Crutchley, John Jackson, Richard Taylor, Thomas Aldersey, Thomas Traun, and one or two more, whose names I cannot tell, but what reason the rebels had for putting them to death I know not, seeing they were all men of good honest life and conversation. It was reported among themselves, that one Ever MacMahon, called by them the Vicar-General, was the chief cause of all these men's deaths, and that he gave the power to Owen O'Murphy, who caused execution to be done upon them, with all violence as hanging some, but half stabbing them afterwards, and stabbing others, whom they would not take pains to hang.

After this I was mightily threatened by one Hugh MacEdmond, who swore if he had been at the camp when the execution was done, I should have suffered with the rest; notwithstanding Owen O'Murphy had got well paid for it (to save me), from a friend of mine who owed me money. About three weeks after that, Patrick McLaughlin, before mentioned, challenged me for a debt of 20*l.*, os he said due to him some two or three years, which I had many times offered to join him for in a suit (at law), to have it brought to

a trial, and notwithstanding I had not a penny left me, yet he said he would have the 20*l.*, or else he said he knew what to do with me, intending to hang me, as those that were by and heard him conceived, and upon this threatening my said debts gave him a (*illegible*) worth 7*l.*, and *aqua vitæ* worth 3*l.*, as they told me, and so I escaped his hands. By this time, Owen O'Murphy not being content with his former reckoning, sent unto me Francis Williams, a dweller in the town, to tell me what favours I had received, and that he expected from me another reward for his kindness, and if I would not give it he had another warrant to do execution upon me, so that my friend was forced to give him two young cows, and myself a cloak, that cost me 3*l.*, which I kept in private. And further saith that one Redmund Roe McMahon did threaten to come down from the Catholic camp at Oldbridge, as they termed it, to kill me, but God Almighty shortened his journey in this wise, for being near a smith when he was dressing a charged carbine, or other gun, it was accidentally discharged, and the said Redmund Roe MacMahon received a blow in his knee, whereof he died within a day after. Of this I was informed by a gentleman, one Mr. Philip O'Calan, sometime of good reputation in Farney, although now a rebel.

About the 18th of February last, Coll McBrian McMahon sent his pleasure to my master for the releasing of us both, and consented that we should have Redmund Bourke and Richard Fahy to be our convoy for our better safety to any portion of the kingdom, from whence we might transport ourselves to England, but being unfurnished with horses, we were forced to stay there until the 3d day of this instant March, at which time we took our journey for Newtown, where my Lady of Slane made my master welcome to her house, though he did not lodge there at night, but came to Dromconragh afterwards, and lay at the inn. The next morning we came to Sydane, where my Lord of Slane caused a kinsman of his lordship's to write to one of his servants, who was commanded to give us all entertainment at Lord Slane's house for four days, to which place we went that night, being Friday, and there remained till Sunday in the morning the next following. At which time, we hired three men there, to add to our convoy, who brought us to Sir John Netterville's house at Dowth, where we wanted nothing fit for man or horse, and besides had a hearty welcome. The next day after we came thither, we removed to Tredagh, and from thence by sea to this city of Dublin.

The losses I have sustained by the rebels, viz. monies due to me, upon bonds, bills, and other reckonings, in all. .	£131. 15*s.* 0*d.*
In horses, mares, colts, sheep, and other small things	28. 5*s.* 0*d.*
In toto . .	£160. 0*s.* 0*d.*

ANTHONY ATKINSON.

Jurat. coram nobis, April 5th, 1642,
JOHN WATSON.
HEN. BRERETON.

Note.

It will be observed that the cruel murders of at least twenty men mentioned in the above deposition were committed on the 2d of January, the same day on which at least forty were murdered at Portnaw. This makes a total of sixty persons massacred in one day at those two places, a week before the retaliatory massacres at Island Magee and Ballymartyn. Add to those sivty the numbers massacred in Fermanagh in October, those who perished at Augher, Tully, Lissan, Kinard, and Portadown bridge in November and December, and the only wonder is that the retaliations did not take place sooner in Ulster. But at first, in fact until December, the Scotch were left comparatively unmolested, and the English were, as I have already said, stunned by the suddenness of the attack, and still more by the publication of the Royal Commission, which seemed to show that they were abandoned by their king and country; 'a sold people,' as one of the witnesses despairingly expressed it on hearing Sir Phelim read the document in the streets of Armagh. *See Dep.* LXXIX.

XXIV.

HENRY STEELE, curate of Clontubbrid, under Humphrey Galbraith, Archdeacon of Clogher, being a schoolmaster in the town of Monaghan, deposeth, that upon the 23d day of October, 1641, he, together with all the rest of the British Protestants of the town of Monaghan, were robbed and imprisoned by Art Roe McPatrick, MacArt Neil MacMahon, Brian McHugh McRoss MacMahon, and Neile MacKenna, with the rest of the Irish freeholders of the barony of Monaghan and Truagh, being in all by relation about 400 rebels. He further deposeth, that when they were imprisoned in the dungeon in the county gaol (all the rogues there being first set

at liberty), they remained there in a most miserable state, being in number about forty-eight, where they had neither room to stand or lie down, but were ready to perish, the place was loathsome, yet many fettered with iron fetters, stripped of their shirts, and clothes, terrified and threatened day and night to be stabbed, shot, and hanged, in that loathsome place, which was almost as bad as death.

About four days after the Lady Blaney and her children, Mr. Richard Blaney, Mr. Richard Cope, Mr. Walter Cope and his wife, Mrs. Clotworthy and their servants, were in a most lamentable manner brought captives to Monaghan by one Hugh McPatrick Duffe MacMahon, Coll McPatrick Duffe MacMahon, and divers others. And the lady, with the other better sort of people, were committed to the castle, the rest to the gaol.

About a fortnight after, as this deponent by true relation heard, they brought Mr. Blaney, then knight of the shire, a justice of the peace, and quorum and commissioner for his majesty's subsidies in the said county, down from the lady's chamber, fettered with irons, and carried him to the backyard, and told him he must die instantly, for that he had lived too long, bearing sway among them. And having their priests and friars near at hand, they asked him whether he would be reconciled (to Rome), but he answered, as some of themselves confessed: '*I am of the true Church, and so well assured of my salvation, that though you would spare my life, I will not alter my faith.*' Then they demanded whether Mr. Cottingham, the minister who was with us in the dungeon, should be sent for, and he (Mr. Blaney) gladly desired it. Whereupon, one Art Mac Brian Savagh MacMahon, who had the warrant to execute him, signed by Sir Phelim O'Neil, Neil MacKenna and others, said: '*Truss him up! he goeth deep enough into hell, he needs no minister to plunge him deeper.*' So they hanged him to a tree, stript him, and afterwards buried him in a ditch near the same.

And further saith, that the parties hereafter mentioned are or lately were actors in the present rebellion, and robbed and stripped the British and Protestants, and committed divers cruelties, viz.:[1] . . . And further saith that the said Mr. Cottingham and George Sparks, Oliver Pierse, Edward Travers, and all the rest that were robbed, had no relief from those that robbed them of all their goods, being thus imprisoned, but they were relieved by some Irish neighbours, chiefly by Thomas Taafe, an innkeeper, who seeing our perplexity made

[1] Here follows a long list of Irish rebels' names, chiefly O'Quins, MacMahons, and O'Hughs, with a priest and friar.

means to the gaoler, and made a way for our wives to bring us such relief as they begged from house to house. And further saith that by God's great mercy, he being enlarged, his wife still a prisoner at Castleblaney, he came away with one Mr. Barnewall to a place called Cobrey, where one Mr. Fleming liveth, whose daughter is married to the Lord Maguire, and he heard the servants there relating how this Maguire and the Popish primate, whose surname was O'Reilly, were a long space travelling through the kingdom together, to persuade them all to condescend to this most bloody rebellion. This Reilly was then at the same Fleming's house. This deponent further saith that he lost in books, household stuff, clothes, cows, &c., by this rebellion to the value of 30*l.*, and was expelled the revenues of his cure and school worth 25*l.* per annum.

HENRY STEELE.

Jurat. 10*th Jan.* 1641,
WILL. ALDRICH.
JOHN STERNE.

Note.

See *ante*, Deposition XV., for murd er of Richard Blaney.

XXV.

The Examination of CAPTAIN PATRICK HUME, *taken upon oath at Inniskillen, in the County of Fermanagh,* 1*st day of April,* 1654, *before* (*illegible*) *Hamilton, Lieut.* (*torn*), *John Carmick, Robert Browning, Commissioners, thereunto authorised by virtue of a Commission of the* 9*th of March,* 1653, *signed by the Hon. Gerard Lowther, Lord President of the High Court of Justice, directed at Dublin to the said Commissioners, or to any two or more of them.*

This examt. upon his oath saith, that upon the 24th day of December, 1641, Rory Maguire, brother of the Lord Maguire, being at the head of a number of rebels, to the number of eight hundred or thereabouts in arms, did in a hostile manner come to the Castle of Tully, where having summoned the Lady Hume, Alexander Hume, John Grier, and this examt. (who there did labour to preserve the lives of those and many other British Protestants by defending the same castle), to yield it up to their hands. The said so summoned, through dread and despair of their lives, came to a parley with the said Rory, on the said day of the year, when the castle was then delivered up to him, when it was agreed upon that the said Lady Hume, Alexander Hume, John Grier, this

examt. and the rest of all the men, women, and children, who were there in that castle, should have quarter for their lives, and all their goods, with free liberty and safe conduct to go either to Monea or Enniskillen, at their choice, provided the said Castle of Tully and the arms in the same should be yielded up to the said Rory Maguire, all which was granted and promised, yea upon oaths, and confirmed by writing by the said Rory. And thereupon the said Rory did enter into the said castle, and received up all the arms that were there. And afterwards that same day, the rebels having stripped the Protestants of all their clothes (except the said Lady Hume), they imprisoned them in the vaults or cellars of the said castle, where they kept them with a strong guard all that night, and the next morning, being the Lord's Day, and the 25th day of December, 1641, they took the Lady Hume, Alexander Hume, John Grier, and this examt., with their wives and children, away from the rest of the prisoners, forth of the said castle, and placed them in the barn of one John Goodfellow at Tully, aforesaid, within a stone's cast from the castle, putting them in hopes that they meant to convey them to the Castle of Monea, upon horses which they provided for them, but as for the rest that were then left behind in the Castle of Tully, the rebels told those in the barn that they should go on foot after them to Monea aforesaid.

But immediately after, upon the 25th of December, 1641, at Tully Castle and within and about the bawn and vaults of the same, in the county of Fermanagh, the rebels did most cruelly and barbarously murder the said Protestants, to the number of fifteen men and sixty women and children or thereabouts, the names of the persons so murdered followeth, viz.: Francis Trotter, Thomas Trotter, Alexander Sheringfield, Alexander Bell, George Chearnside, Robert Black, James Barry, Thomas Anderson, Robert Lawdon, John Brooke, David Anderson, James Anderson, and many others—men, women, and children—whose names this deponent doth not now remember.

The actors in this massacre, this examt. saith, for the most part are since that time dead, or slain as he heard, and as for such of them as survive, this examt. remembers not their names. And this examt. saith, after the said rebels did pillage and plunder the said castle, they did burn it on the day and year aforesaid. And further this examt. deposeth not anything material.

PTK. HUME.

Taken before us, 1st of April 1654,

WM. HAMILTON. JOHN CARMICKE.

ROBT. BROWNING. THO. BAMPTON.

XXVI.

Thomas Winslow, of Derryvore, in the county of Fermanagh, sworn and examined, deposeth, that on or about the 23d of October, 1641, he was robbed and despoiled of his farms, worth 35*l.* yearly, his cattle, houses, goods, &c., amounting to 105*l.*, by James Maguire and his brother, Cahil Maguire, of Knocknimy, gent., John McCorry, of Gartharee, in the same county, gent., and a great number of other rebels, whose names he cannot express, and the same rebels at the same time robbed and despoiled all the British Protestants thereabouts of their goods and means, and about Christmas after, the same and other rebels, to the number of 2,400 by their own computation (and, as he thinketh, because he saw them), gathered together, and came to Lisgoole, the house of one Mr. Segrave, where they found about fourscore English Protestants—men, women, and children—all of whom they murdered, burnt, or put to death, saving only two persons, Mr. James Dunbar and a woman whom they took prisoner and restrained for some time. And, together with those Protestants, they burnt the house, and all that escaped the flames, save those two, they murdered with swords, skeans, and other weapons. And as for this examt., they forced him to stay among them, and to do them, as he did, some unwilling service for a month together. In what time that he stayed with them he was forced to march along with them to Lisgoole aforesaid, and from thence to the Castle of Monea, where the rebels slew or murdered eight more Protestants, and from thence they marched to the Castle of Tully. . . . And further saith that the same rebels and one Rory MacBrian, Mac Shane Maguire of Ramoane, in the county of Fermanagh aforesaid, and his soldiers about the beginning of December, 1641, at a place near Cordilla, in the said county, wickedly murdered by hanging, and slew, one Gilbert Vance, of Portoran, gent., a Scotsman, Edmund McBright, of the same, gent., and John Ogle, gent., a Protestant.

Thomas Winslow. +

Jurat. 16 *Jan.* 1643,
Hen. Jones.
Hen. Brereton.

XXVII.

Richard Faucett, duly sworn on his oath, saith, that he and Edward Graves, together with about one hundred men of the

Scottish nation and the English, were surprised and taken prisoners in the county of Fermanagh, and compelled to march along with the rebels, in respect of the greater dreading and amazing of the English Protestants. And saith that Rory Maguire, the chief ringleader of the rebels in the county aforesaid, took this examt. and the aforesaid English and Scottish, with his rebellious soldiers, to the Castle of Tully, on the 23d of December, 1641, where many of the Protestants were drawn together for the securing of their lives, and as this examt. believeth to defend that hold; where the rebels having that night stayed in the field, the next day, being the 24th of December, having drawn those Protestants, whose names this deponent remembereth not, to a parley by the means of one Brian Magrath, who is since drowned, the said castle, with all the arms of the Protestants, was yielded upon quarter to the said Rory and his rebels, who faithfully promised them quarter for their said lives, and to convey them in safety to any British garrison they would choose to go unto, the Lady Hume and one John Grier, *alias* Langford, being the persons that capitulated for and on the part of the said Protestants. Yet the rebels would not enter the said castle, until the Protestants therein did first deliver up their weapons, which being done the rebels entered, and shortly after stripped the said Protestants, and afterwards, upon the 25th of December, 1641, in the morning early, the said rebels did massacre (*torn*) number of the said Protestants, in and about the said castle. In particular, this examt. saith, that one Thomas MacRory MacGillarick, now riding in the troop under the command of Major Robert Ormsby in Connaught, and one Philip O'Muldoon, did thrust their pikes into the body of a woman that fled then out of the gates from the rest of the murderers. And he further saith, that Captain Hugh Boy McShane Oge Maguire and one, Lieutenant Neil McEdmond McHugh, of the said rebellious party, were then present with very many others whom this examt. cannot now remember. And saith that the cause of his knowledge of these facts is that he was then and there present, and did see those persons, whose names he knoweth not, come running stripped naked out of the said castle, who were murdered by the rebels at the gate.

RICHARD + FAUCETT.

Taken before us, 31*st March*, 1654,

JOHN CARMICKE.
ROBERT BROWNING.

XXVIII.

Ambrose Bedell, gent., son to the late Reverend Father in God, William, Lord Bishop of Kilmore, deceased, duly sworn and examined, saith, that in the beginning of the present rebellion and by means thereof, his said father was in his lifetime deprived, robbed, or otherwise despoiled of goods and chattels to the value of 4,060*l.* And this deponent was also robbed and despoiled of his goods and chattels, farms, &c., worth 427*l.* And further saith, that Edmund Maelmore O'Reilly, of (*blank*) Esq., came about the 19th or 20th of November last to the said Lord Bishop's house, and commanded him to turn out of doors about 200 aged persons, women and their children, of Protestants, whom, with others before that time departed from him, he had since the beginning of the rebellion sheltered and relieved; the said Edmund alleging that the said Bishop must not keep those English to devour their meat, meaning the said Bishop's meat, which the said Reilly said belonged to his soldiers, meaning his rebellious companions. But the said Bishop answered, that, while he had a bit there for himself, never a child there should want, and that when all was gone, he would trust to God for more, whereupon the said Edmund told him that the next day he would show him the most woeful spectacle that ever he beheld, to wit, that he would hang all those poor people before his own (the Bishop's) face. And, accordingly, the said Edmund the next day came with about 200 foot, and 20 or 30 horse, and entering the said house, seized on the said Bishop and all his goods, and turned the poor stripped people out of doors, to shift for themselves, many of whom perished on the highway with hunger, others were killed by the barbarous people, and some escaped to Dublin, as this deponent hath credibly heard. But this deponent, with the said Lord Bishop, his father, Mr. William Bedell, this deponent's elder brother, and his brother-in-law, Mr. Cloghy, minister, were by the said Edmund carried prisoners to Cloughowter Castle. And this deponent and the said Mr. Cloghy were cast in bolts, and they all abode for the space of three weeks there. And immediately after the said prisoners were set free out of that miserable castle, where they had neither glass windows nor shutters to keep out the weather, and cold air from the Lough where it was seated, the said Lord

Bishop sickened and died, as this deponent verily believeth, by his hard usage in that castle.

And this deponent further saith, that shortly after his father and the forenamed were cast into prison, the pretended Popish bishop of that diocese came, by the direction or counsel of the said Edmund O'Reilly, into the said Bishop's house, and seized on the rest of the goods and the books that were there, and lived there. And further saith, that he was told by Philip MacGawran, a rebel, that his brother, Shane MacGawran, did stab and run through with a skean one Peter Crosse, after another rebel had made him confess his money, and gave it to them, he being a very old man. And that at the same time the said Shane did cut off the arm of the wife of the said Peter, she being very old, near seventy or eighty years of age; and that he then threw her on the body of her murdered husband, and cast a bank of earth over them both, so that she was thereby smothered or buried alive. And further saith, that a little Scottish boy, about eight or ten years old, after this deponent and the rest were gone from the said Bishop's house, flying away to shift for himself, was met in a bog by two Irish boys, about ten or twelve years old, who there threw him into a bog pit, threw turf on him, and kept him in the water till they had drowned him. And further saith, that this deponent was told by some of the rebels themselves that the river of Belturbet, where the rebels had drowned divers persons, was formerly well plenished with much fish, which, after the drowning of those Protestants, went away, so that none could be seen in the river, within half a mile of the drowning-place, which the rebels said they feared was the judgment of God, because of the drownings of these Protestants. And further saith, that Sir James Craig, knight, that had long maintained Castle Croghan, being buried in the Church of Killesandra, his corpse was taken up by the rebels, and cut into pieces. And after they had taken away his coffin and winding sheet, and had so hacked him, they threw the mangled body into the grave again. And further saith, that the rebels did often say that they would leave neither English nor Scottish, nor any nation but their own, nor any Protestant, in Ireland. And further saith that Mr. Luke Dillon, of the Island, seemed long not to take part with the rebels, and told this deponent he was loth to join with them. But afterwards, when the said Luke's father was dead, he said he had a letter from the Lord Dillon, his brother, whereby he was advised to take part with the rebels, to save the old Earl of Roscommon's goods. And thereupon,

the said Luke did join with the rebels of the English pale only, but not with the other rebels, for that they were of different councils and factions.

And this deponent heard the mere Irish rebels often say to the other rebels of the pale, these words, viz. : '*You churls with the great breeches, do you think that if we were rid of the other English that we would spare you? No! for we would cut all your throats, for you are all of one race with them, though we make use of you for the present!*'' And further saith, that there were owing unto the said Bishop, this deponent's father, several sums of money by divers persons, some whereof are absolute rebels, and others quite disabled to make any satisfaction to him, by the present rebellion, amounting in all to 1,000*l.* And that the parties that are so indebted to him were and are, Philip McMulmore O'Reily, of Lismore, in the county of Cavan, Esq., Hugh McTurlogh Brady, of Drumloght, in the same county, gent., Owen McWilliam O'Sheridan, late of Lisbrey, in the county of Longford, gent., Owen O'Sheridan, gent., of the county of Cavan, captain of the rebels. And further saith, that the persons hereafter named were and are notorious rebels and actors in the present rebellion, viz. Philip McHugh McShane O'Reilly, of the Carig, in the county of Cavan, Esq., now Colonel of the rebels, Edmund McMaelmore O'Reily, of the Cavan, Esq., and his son, who was high sheriff of the county when the rebellion began, and under colour of his office got many arms from the Protestants, pretending he took them for the king. . . .

AMBROSE BEDELL.

Jurat. 26th October, 1642,
JOHN WATSON.
WILL. ALDRICH.

Note.

I omit the paragraphs after the word 'king,' as they are merely long lists of rebels' names, many only patronymics.

XXIX.

ANNE, relict of FRANCIS BLENNERHASSETT, late of Hassetsford, in the county of Fermanagh, Esquire, sworn and examined saith, that at the beginning of this rebellion, viz. the 23d of October, 1641, her husband and she and her children were by force of arms deprived of their estates, worth 1,850*l.*, besides their future

interest in lands, and saith, that the rebels that so expelled and deprived, robbed, and despoiled them, were Rory Maguire, brother to the Lord Maguire, Hugh Buie Maguire, now or late of (*unintelligible*) Esquire, Collo Maguire, gent., and their soldiers and confederates, whose names she cannot express ; which said Hugh Buie afterwards told this deponent that he had sent forty men to kill her husband, howbeit, God did so provide that her husband escaped their hands that time. Howbeit, afterwards, as this deponent hath been credibly told and believeth, the rebels at Lotherstowne, in the said county Fermanagh, most barbarously and cruelly hanged up to death, on tenter hooks, Thomas Redman, this deponent's son-in-law, and after many tortures used to his wife to make her confess her money, at length murdered her, and her children also, and robbed and stripped them of personal estate worth 500*l.* at least. And further saith, that for seven weeks after the rebellion began, she was kept in hold in the said Rory Maguire's house, from whence he then sent her to her husband at Ballyshannon Castle, in the county Donegal, where her husband was shot by the rebels and died. And there she and her children stayed for a year and a half together, and in that time endured much want and misery, and at length she and five of her children, and divers other Protestants, were brought thence by shipping to Dublin, bringing no means, nor relief with them ; insomuch, that they and those in the ship, being long at sea, and wanting victuals, and being ready to famish, some of them resolved to go on land, and adventure amongst the rebels rather than starve. Howbeit, of a sudden, such was God's great mercy and pity to them, that He discovered to them a small little island, over against the port of Castledoe, unto which, the mariners steering and bringing the ship, they landed, and found there nine cows, forty sheep, and some barley, whereby they were very well victualled, and so were well and safely provided and stocked. And further saith, that she hath heard some of the rebel soldiers, at the said Rory Maguire's house, brag, boast, and say, that they had hanged several Protestants on the churchyard gate of that parish, where Mr. Flack was minister, three of which Protestants' names were (*illegible*). And this deponent hath credibly heard, and is confident the report is true, that the said Rory Maguire sent the said Mr. Flack and his wife, and his wife's brother, and their children, and other Protestants, to the number of twenty-one, with a convoy towards Ballishannon, who, after they were landed, and come a very little way out of the county of Fermanagh, the same convoy seemed to

leave them, and quickly thereupon other rebels, or the convoy themselves, fell upon them, and murdered them all, as some of the convoy promised or threatened the night before should be done.

ANNE HASSETT.

Jurat. ultimo July, 1643,
Coram WM. ALDRICH.
ED. PIGOTT.
JOHN WATSON.

XXX.

ROBERT FLACK, of Mullaghcreuse, in the county of Fermanagh, gent., son and heir to Robert Flack, of the same parish, clerk, deceased, and also brother and heir to Thomas Flack, of the same, clerk, deceased, and also brother and heir to Philip Flack, late of Drumcollogh, within the said county, gent., all three of whom were murdered by the rebels; being duly sworn, deposeth and saith, that the said Robert Flack, his father, and Thomas and Philip, his brothers, and himself, were on the 23d day of October, 1641, and since robbed of their estate, worth 3,384*l.*, by the rebels, Rory Maguire, Hugh Mc(*illegible*) Maguire, a priest, Laughlin MacCabe, Turlogh MacCabe, Rory MacCabe, Turlogh Maguire, Owen MacCabe, Donogh Oge MacIntaggart Coshienaght (*sic*), of the parish of Mullaghcreuse aforesaid. And further saith, that he hath heard some of the rebellious persons say that they would not submit themselves, nor stand to his Majesty's orders; nor would leave their courses so long as there was an Englishman or Scotchman alive in this kingdom, except some few artificers whom they would keep as slaves to work for them. And that they would have none but Irish magistrates and officers to rule over them. And further saith that Robert (*illegible*), Thomas Slater, John Bell, William Bell, and his sons and six more Protestants within the said parish aforesaid, were murdered at two several times by the rebels, and three more Protestants were hanged at several times by Hugh MacGildowny Maguire aforesaid, a priest (who afterwards caused many others to be hanged, and would tell the rebels he would pardon and forgive them for killing heretics, meaning the Protestants, calling them 'English dogs'), and by some of the Maguires, MacCabes and Monahans.

ROBERT FLACK.

Jurat. 12*th August*, 1642,
Coram JOHN STERN.
WM. ALDRICH.

Note.

As this deposition makes no mention of the murder of Mrs. Flack, we may suppose that she was spared. The original and the copy are in the same book, and correspond exactly, but in the original the pen has been drawn, as usual, over a very long inventory of the goods and lands, &c., lost, and the sum total of their value has been interlined. The deposition also contains a long list of rebels' names, and some hearsay evidence as to the massacres at Tully and Lisgoole, which I have omitted.

XXXI.

The further Examination of Michael Harrison, *of Lisnagarvey, in the county of Antrim, Esq., aged* 45 *years, or thereabouts, taken before me, on the* 11*th February*, 1652,

Who, being duly sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, that when the rebellion began in the month of October, 1641, this examinant then lived at Currin, in the county of Tyrone, within four miles of Kinard, the dwelling-house of Sir Phelim O'Neil. That this examt., on the 23d of October, 1641, coming then out of the province of Connaught, towards his dwelling-house aforesaid, in company with Mr. John Parry of Devinagh (*sic*), in the county of Armagh brother-in-law to this deponent, they were apprehended in the town of Monaghan, and taken as prisoners by some of the MacMahons, and were carried to the house of the Lord Blaney, in Monaghan, and that Neil MacKenna and Brian Mantagh MacMahon, being then in the said Lord Blaney's house, carried this examinant and the said Mr. Parry to a (*illegible*) near the said house, and the said MacKenna told this examinant that they looked not for him at Mr. Parry's, but for Mr. Aldrich, the Sheriff of Monaghan. He saith that the said MacKenna having been some time schoolfellow with him at Dublin, he asked the said MacKenna what was the cause of the present stirs and rising, to which the said MacKenna made answer, that it was to seize on and take all the castles in the north, by direction of the Parliament of Dublin, and about an hour after word was brought by one Patrick Dogherty, that Charlemont and Dungannon were taken the night before, by the said Sir Phelim O'Neil, and then the said MacMahon and MacKenna directed this examinant and the said Mr. Parry to go to the examt.'s house aforesaid, whither they came that night, and the said Dogherty was appointed to the

third convoy. He saith that in their way they met with very many of the inhabitants of the county Monaghan, then besieging the castle of Glaslogh, in which Dean Barclay lived then. That some of the persons that so besieged the said castle, hearing that this examt. came out of Connaught, asked him what news there, and whether or not there was any rising of the people there, to which this examt. made answer there was not, and then some of them speaking in Irish, which this examinant understood, said, they wondered there was not, for that there was to be a rising in all Ireland that day. He further saith, that, on his way to Currin aforesaid, a little beyond Kinard, he met Mr. Joseph Travers and his wife, who said they were going to Kinard aforesaid, expecting to be there sheltered from the violence of the country people, for that he had been that morning plundered at his dwelling-house by them, being within a mile of Currin, and he told this examt. that his (the examt.'s) wife and children had left his house at Currin, and gone to the castle of Benburb, a mile further. This examt. saith, he came to his said house that night, and there finding only one of his servants, he went immediately to Benburb aforesaid. He said that, observing the country to be generally plundered, he went on Monday, the 25th of October, 1641, to Sir Phelim O'Neil, then at Charlemont, three miles distant from Benburb, aforesaid, who gave this examt. a protection to live at his own house of Currin. This examt. saith that the said Sir Phelim told him, that the next day he should hear of the taking of Dublin, and that all Ireland, meaning the Irish, was up as he was. This examt. saith that thereupon he went to his own house with his wife and children, where they lived together with the said Mr. Parry and his wife and Lieutenant Gore, where they all continued until the May following. (*He saith that between the said 25th of October and the 5th of December.*) He saith that soon after he heard that the town of Armagh was taken by the said Sir Phelim and his brother, Tirlogh O'Neil, and that the inhabitants had quarter given them, whereof no part was observed, as Mrs. Chappell and Mrs. Southwick, who were inhabitants there, told this examt., but was broken by the said Sir Phelim and those that gave the quarter.

That soon after the said Sir Phelim and divers others went to besiege the castle of Augher, in the county of Tyrone, then possessed by Mr. Erskine, but the said Sir Phelim was beaten off with the loss of forty men; in revenge thereof on his return to Charlemont, all the British he met with in those parts were killed. The

examt. saith that two or three days after Sir Phelim O'Neil returned, as aforesaid, the examt. heard that Mrs. Babington and her daughter and one Higgs were drowned at Blackwater, within a mile of Benburb, but by whom he knoweth not, but Sir Phelim had the chief command there. The examt. saith that the November following Mr. Blyth, minister of Dungannon, and several more were murdered at Dungannon by Tirlogh Boy O'Mull (*illegible*), an obscure person, then of Sir Phelim's party, but by whose order he knoweth not. He further saith, that about the 5th of December following, Tirlogh Oge O'Neil, brother of Sir Phelim, wrote a letter from Dungannon, where Sir Phelim then was, to this examt. to come to them to Dungannon, which this examt. did, and being come the said Tirlogh, in the presence of Sir Phelim, told this deponent that he had been long protected, and should not be any longer protected, unless he would do them service. He asked what service he should do, whereon they answered, that he should write their letters and answer petitions, which this deponent, being then in the enemies' power, and for the preservation of his life, his wife, children, and others his friends, did accept of, and accordingly stayed with the said Sir Phelim. This examt. saith that, about the 8th of December, 1641, the said Sir Phelim went to Strabane, with whom this deponent also went (*where the said Sir Phelim acted as this deponent, in his former deposition this day given in, hath declared*).

Being demanded what commission or authority the said Sir Phelim had he, this deponent, saith, that he was present at Maddenstown and Bewly near Drogheda, in January, 1641, when the Lords of Gormanston and Louth, Netterville, Trimleston, and several others, whose names he remembereth not, declared Sir Phelim O'Neil should be general of all the forces of Leinster and Ulster, until Drogheda, then besieged, should be rendered; and accordingly, a commission was then drawn up in writing by one belonging to Lady Strabane, whose name he remembereth not, and signed by the lords and others before named, and there delivered to the said Sir Phelim, and afterwards he was called the Lord General. He said that the said Sir Phelim several times told this examt. that he had a commission from the king for doing what he did; but this examt. never saw the commission, though he often demanded the sight thereof, which commission from the king was before the said commission given by the Lords to Sir Phelim. And the said Sir Phelim told him once, that the said commission from the king was

in the hands of Philip MacHugh O'Reilly, and another time he said it was in the hands of Shane O'Cahane, afterwards called Major-General, and he heard it commonly reported that there was such a commission. He further saith that he heard of the Pope's Bull brought to Sir Phelim O'Neil, but by whom it was brought he did not hear, but heard that the contents thereof were, that all of the Irish party that should be killed in that war, which he supposeth meant the rebellion, should be forgiven all their sins, and should immediately go to heaven.

He saith that, about May, 1642, when part of the English army came to take the Newry, several English and British Protestants, to the number of about one hundred and fifty, were, by the direction of the said Phelim O'Neil, sent out of the county Armagh to Tyrone, to be quartered, as was pretended, on the several Irish creaghts; howbeit, the cause of their removal really was for fear they should join with the English then at Lisnagarvey. He said that the same night that they were so sent away the said Protestants were all murdered, except one Thomas Naul, a musician, whom this deponent kept in his house and was not sent with the rest. He saith that he heard that Turlogh MacBrian O'Neil, cousin-german to Sir Phelim and several others who were fosterers of his, and living on his lands at Kinard, hanged James Maxwell, Henry Cowell, and Mr. Atkin, and his son, and did also drown the wife of the said James Maxwell, she being then in labour. He saith that he heard that the said Sir Phelim did borrow about 200*l.* from the said James Maxwell about a month before the rebellion in Ireland, and that he believed the said persons were hanged and drowned by the direction of the said Sir Phelim, and all the other murders were done, he having the chief command in the country. The examt. further saith, that Sir Phelim O'Neil's chief counsellors were Turlogh Grome O'Quin, Patrick Modder O'Donnelly, Cormac O'Hagan, Shane O'Neil, governor of Charlemont, and that he this examinant was present, and saw them take an oath, the tenor whereof was to be true to him and his son Henry, and to receive and obey his commands, and to give him their best advice on all occasions, which oath was tendered to them all by Patrick O'Cosh (*sic*), Sir Phelim O'Neil's priest. He also saw Michael Dunn, of Knockearney, often with Sir Phelim O'Neil privately, whispering with him, but did not know whether or not he was one of his sworn counsellors.

This examt. saith that in the month of December, 1641, he was at Mr. Grant's house near Armagh, there were also present there

Sir Phelim O'Neil, Turlogh Oge, his brother, and Paul Neil, guardian to the friars, at the (*illegible*), and they discoursing about the pale's rising and joining with the said Sir Phelim, he said that they, meaning the pale, should not draw their necks out of the collar, for that they were now as deeply engaged as he was, which he would make appear, and after the return of the said Sir Phelim from Bewly, when he had his commission from the pale as aforesaid, Paul Neil meeting with him, asked him what he the said Sir Phelim had done with the pale, to which Sir Phelim made answer that he had made those ugly, ill-favoured English churls of the pale come out, let them get in as well as they could; after which the said Sir Phelim at the hill of Tullaghoge (the country being summoned, was made there Earl of Tyrone, that being the place for making the O'Neils) met a great number of the country, to the number of about 15,000, one part whereof marched to the siege of Drogheda, and the other part marched to Antrim, under the command of Tirlogh O'Neil, brother to the said Sir Phelim. And as to the manner of the said Sir Phelim being created Earl of Tyrone, he saith that on the aforesaid hill the said Sir Phelim, standing under a sally or ash tree, Captain Turlogh O'Neil came to the said Sir Phelim, and told him that they wanted a governor to command them in that business they had undertaken, and that he was made chief, if he would please to accept thereof, which the said Sir Phelim at first seemingly denied, but afterwards Tirlogh Grome O'Quin, Cormock O'Hagan, Partrick Modder O'Donnelly, and one of the Cahanes, whose name he remembereth not, came again to the said Sir Phelim, and told him if he would not accept of that title, they would find another; whereupon he accepted thereof, with general acclamation and shout of the people, and the same night the said Sir Phelim did send letters to Major George Rawdon and Captain Hartwell, to which he subscribed himself 'Tyrone,' which letters were written by this examt. He further saith that the said Tirlogh Grome O'Quin was a captain under the command of the said Sir Phelim, and that on the 26th of October, 1641, at night the said Tirlogh Grome, with many of his followers, surprised the castle of Mountjoy and killed six persons, whereof Corporal Pue, being of the age of eighty years, was one, as he was told, and as it was commonly reported at Charlemont. He further saith that, in December, 1641, he was told by a person, whose name he now remembereth not, that he was present in the town of Charlemont, when a soldier, under the command of the said Sir Phelim, having killed an English Protestant,

was apprehended by a friar called Father Gynon, guardian of the Dominicans near Coleraine, and brought by the friar with his sword bloody to Sir Phelim, whom the friar then told, that if he would not punish his soldiers for killing such as he had protected (*i.e.* promised to protect), God Almighty would not prosper his undertakings, to which the said Sir Phelim made answer, '*Go about your business, it doth not concern you*!' and so the soldier went unpunished, for all that this examt. ever heard.

He, this examt., heard it commonly reported that Henry Cowell, formerly mentioned in this deposition, was murdered because he would not marry the half sister of the said Sir Phelim. And being demanded his cause of knowledge wherefore the several English, mentioned in this examination, were removed out of the county of Armagh into the county of Tyrone, he saith, that the same day they were so removed, he saw a note signed by the said Phelim, directed to the Constable of Clanfeackle (*sic*) parish, the tenor whereof was as followeth: 'You are to remove the several British inhabitants of the town of Armagh out of the said town and quarter them by two and three on a townland, in the lower parts of the said parish, next the Brentree woods,' and to secure them, and have them forthcoming until the said Sir Phelim should call for them, or words to that effect; and he, this examt., saw them in the custody of the said constable, when he showed the said warrant to this examt., and that they were so quartered in the said townlands accordingly, and after they were so divided in the said townlands they were all murdered, as this examt. was credibly informed. The cause of his knowledge is, that he lived in the upper side of the said parish, where they were quartered, as aforesaid, and that the next morning he sent to visit some of his neighbours, who were removed to the said parish as aforesaid, and that his messengers brought him word that his said neighbours were killed, and that he thought all the rest were killed, for that he met none of them in the said parish, and that it was commonly reported they were all killed. He said that Mr. Phillip Parker and Mr. Robinson of Killmore were then murdered in the said parish. He further saith, that he heard it commonly reported that Sir Phelim O'Neil did send a warrant to MacMahon, then resident in Lord Blaney's house in Monaghan, for putting to death Richard Blaney, Esq., which was done accordingly.

And saith, that the said Sir Phelim O'Neil was commonly called Phelimy Tothane, which signifieth burning or smoking Phelim,

alluding to the burnings and wastings of the country by him; and in their songs the Irish would say; 'Phelimy Tothane had brought in Christmas before its time,' meaning the great number of cattle slaughtered in the country, and the country's joy and rejoicing at them. This examt. further saith, that about the 14th of December, 1641, Sir Phelim O'Neil, with a rout of about 1,500 men, went to the town of Strabane, in the county of Tyrone, to reduce that town, as he alleged, into the obedience of the king and parliament at Dublin, to suppress a Puritan faction then rising in Ulster, and that at that time there were burnings, spoilings, and (*illegible*) committed on the British inhabitants of those quarters by the said party, and this examt. further saith, that about the 16th of December news was brought unto the said Sir Phelim O'Neil that there was one hundred horse sallied out of Strabane, to reduce the house of Sir William Hamilton, called Donnemeanagh, a great papist, wherein was at that time commander one Hugh Murry O'Dee'm (*sic*); and that presently, Sir Phelim O'Neil, upon this news there with, 500 horse and foot of his said rout went to retain the said house, and did beat away the said Scots, and upon pursuit of them did kill five or six of the said men, whereof Captain Forbes was one; his cause of knowledge is, that this examinant, going along next morning to Strabane with the said Sir Phelim, saw the said corpses there; and that he was informed Captain Forbes was one of the number. And this examt. further saith, that he heard that one Mr. Chappell, of Armagh, had three fat oxen, and that he gave two of them to Turlogh Oge O'Neil, so he might be allowed to keep the third, and that one Edmund Boy O'Hugh stole the said oxen from the said Chappell, and being apprehended for the same was committed to the gaol of Armagh, and by the negligence of the keeper escaped, and three men that were appointed to watch the gaol were committed for the said escape, an Englishman, a Scotchman, and an Irishman; the Englishman and Scotchman were executed, and the Irishman (one Hagan) saved by his friends, whereupon it was commonly reported that these men were executed (for suffering the murder of the Lord Caulfield to escape) upon a gallows erected before the gaol.

And this examt. further saith that about the beginning of the February following there were a great number of English prisoners in the town of Dungannon, and that these prisoners requested of the said Sir Phelim a safe conduct to Coleraine, which was granted

them, and they committed to the safe guard of Colonel Manus Roe O'Cahane, to be conveyed as aforesaid; but before they had passed twelve miles on their way they were all murdered, whereof Mr. Beveridge, the minister of Killemar (*sic*), was one, and no punishment inflicted on the murderers, nor so many as one called in question for the murders, for aught this examt. could ever hear.

And this examt. further saith, that in March or April following, one Brownlow Taylor, the son of Thomas Taylor of Armagh, both being under Sir Phelim O'Neil's protection, procured for them by the examt., going to look upon some chattel of his father's, within two miles of Armagh, called Castle Dillon, was apprehended by some of the Irish, pretending he was flying to the English garrison at Lisnagarvey, and was carried to Torlogh Oge O'Neil at Armagh, and from thence to Sir Phelim at Charlemont, where this examt. then was, and there lay committed that night in the same house with this examt. Next morning, one Shane O'Neil, captain of the said castle, came to the said Brownlow Taylor, and wished him to prepare himself for death, for that Sir Phelim had given special orders to hang him presently. Whereupon this examt. desired the said captain to respite execution for a while, being informed that one Henry O'Neil, of the Fews, would soon come and save his life. But the said captain answered again: '*If he be not hanged this morning by eight of the clock I must hang for him*;' and thereupon the said Brownlow Taylor was hanged in Charlemont at that very time. And this examt. further saith, that about the time the English army marched out of Belfast into the enemy's quarters, there were sixty British or thereabouts brought out of the parish of Loughgall, in the county of Tyrone, to be in the parish of Killaman secured, as was pretended, with a warrant under the said Sir Phelim's hand, commanding the said inhabitants to keep them safely; which warrant this examt. saw, but that night they were all murdered, as the common report went, of which number this examt. knew Mr. Edward Chadwell and his wife, yet none were questioned for the same.

This examt. further saith, that in December, 1641, Sir Phelim O'Neil going to take Castle Dirge (*sic*) from some few English in these parts, that had possessed themselves of it, had one of the O'Neils killed by them in the said castle and another hurt, and seeing he was not likely to gain the said castle, he grew very angry, and about two of the clock in the morning he called for Brian Mac

Art Oge O'Neil, and commanded him to take with him 500 men, and to burn and prey the country called Ederaoun (*sic*), and to kill every man, woman and child they should meet with, and that by daylight he would march after him with the rest of the men, which was accordingly put in execution, many women and children being there killed. This examt.'s cause of knowledge of this is, that he heard the orders given, and that in the morning he saw a dozen of the corpses, and that Sir Phelim saw the said women a killing and never condemned it, as this examt. could ever hear.

And this examt. further saith, that about the time the British army first marched to the Newry, this examt. came from his own house of Curren to Charlemont, and meeting with one Lysaghe that waited on Sir Phelim in his chamber, demanded him what news. The said Lysaghe answered, that Turlogh Grome O'Quin and Patrick Modder O'Donnelly were the night before with Sir Phelimy, assuring him that the British army about Belfast were ready to march. And the said Lysaghe further told this examt. that the said Torlogh Grome O'Quin demanded of the said Sir Phelim what should be done with the remainder of the English that were at Armagh; for that as soon as ever the British army would approach, the said English would, with clubs and stones, join with the said army to cut the Irish throats (*sic*), but if the said Sir Phelim would give the said Tirlogh and Patrick leave to take their companies to Armagh, they would secure the said English so well that they (the Irish) should have no more cause to fear them again. Sir Phelim asked how, the said Turlogh Grome said by killing of them, but Patrick Modder denied it, and said he would never consent to kill any that were under protection. And this examt. then demanded of the said Lisaghe what the said Sir Phelim then said, and he answered that Sir Phelim bade Turlogh Grome do his pleasure, for that the English were always running to give the enemy intelligence, and that there was no trust to be had in them. And this examt. saw the said Tirlogh Grome go towards Armagh and the next day the church was fired, and about sixty persons murdered in and about the said town, as the general report was. And within two days thereafter, this examt. heard Sir Phelim say, that he hoped he would no more be troubled by the English about him, for that Turlogh Grome O'Quin had taken a good course with them. And that about a month after this, this examt. and his wife, who was newly delivered of a child, got to the English army the first that ever marched into the enemy's quarters. (*And by*

the great providence of the Lord, to whom be all glory and power for His marvellous deliverance unto His people out of the hands of cruel tyrants.) And this examt. further saith that, within a fortnight after the massacre of Armagh, upon some discourse that happened between the said Sir Phelim and others, he Sir Phelim said that the said Turlogh Grome O'Quin did nothing in the late business at Armagh, meaning that massacre, but what he had directions from him (Sir Phelim) for.

This examt. further saith, that in November, 1641, he commonly heard that there were about sixty persons of the British nation, coming from Monaghan and Glaslogh to Armagh, all drowned at the bridge of Cortynan (*sic*), within a mile of Kinard, by some of the O'Hughes, Sir Phelim's followers, and none of them were ever questioned for the same to this examt.'s knowledge. And further, this examt. saith, that it was commonly reported that there were twenty or thirty persons cruelly murdered in Kinard by the said Hughes, whereof Mr. Humphrey B(*illegible*) was one, and an Englishwoman Sir Phelim brought out of England for a nurse, as this examt. heard, was another. And Sir Phelim, the commander-in-chief of all, never questioned (any) for the same, for aught this examt. could ever hear.

And this examt. further saith that one Mr. Starkey, aged about eighty years, with his two daughters, flying from Armagh to Charlemont, for shelter in those horrid bloody times, were murdered and drowned in a turf pit near Charlemont, as the general report was. And that the wife of Brian Kelly, then at Charlemont, drowned a dozen persons in another turf pit, in the parish of Loghgall, without being once questioned for the same, and past by in silence, as all murders were.

That in December, 1641, one Hugh O'Neil, servant to Sir Phelim, who is now under protection near Lisnogarvey, was sent to the Lord of Antrim to St. Katherine's, Sir Nicholas White's house; his directions were not known to this examt.

That in December, 1641, Sir Phelim O'Neil, with great ostentation, in this examt.'s hearing told the Lady of Strabane, being then a suitor unto her, that he would never leave off the work he had begun, until mass should be sung or said in every church in Ireland, and that a Protestant should not live in Ireland be he of what nation he would.

And this deponent further saith, that at Bragantown, in the county of Louth, in February, 1641, Sir Phelim writ a letter unto

the Lord Taafe in Connaught much to this purpose, that the Lord Taafe, with the rest of the Roman Catholic confederacy in that province, should vigorously prosecute the war, according to their first undertaking, until all the heretics, meaning the Protestants, were rooted out, and that if they, Taafe and his friends, did not unanimously proceed in that business, he would, as soon as he had reduced Drogheda, march thither with his army, to spoil and destroy all those that were refractory, for that all of them were as deeply engaged in the business as he was, and that they should not withdraw when they pleased. This letter was written by Friar Peter Taafe, signed by Sir Phelim, and delivered by this examt. to be made up, which he then perused and then delivered to the said friar to be sent away.

And this examt. further saith, that most of the murders set forth by this examt. were committed within a dozen miles of Charlemont, and that he verily believed Sir Phelim was privy to and guilty of all the said murders, in regard he was commander-in-chief, and in his breast was life and death, and he never apprehended any of the said murderers. And this examt. verily believeth further that the said Sir Phelim was guilty of the said murders, in regard he gave warrant of safe conduct to them that were to be sent away, and they were, as report went, cut off by their convoys, and warrants of security given to them that were quartered on the townlands, they were cut off by the inhabitants. And being told of these foul murders by this examt. the said Sir Phelim answered he had nothing to do with it, neither did the said Sir Phelim ever question any of the convoys, or any of the said inhabitants for any of the said murders.

MICHL. HARRISON.

Taken before me,
HEN. JONES.

Note.

The passages in italics in the foregoing have had the pen lightly drawn over them in the MS. The margin of the passage relating to Lord Caulfield's murderer has in the margin a *D*, probably a direction for the copyist. The MS. seems to have been a copy made by Dean Jones himself of a deposition, made before him on the same day, and the pen strokes may have been drawn by him across words which he thought superfluous, but had in haste at first written down in the duplicate. It is signed by him and by Harrison, and although not free from a fault, common to all the

depositions taken by clerical commissioners between 1641–54, oi containing too much hearsay evidence, it is undoubtedly a sworn deposition, and of great value and interest. (See Case of Henry O'Neil of the Fews, or of Glasdromin.)

XXXII.

THE PORTNAW MASSACRE.

The Examination of Robert Hamill, *of Ballymoney parish, taken before us, the 4th of March*, 1652,

Who, being duly sworn and examined, saith that he was one of Captain Peebles' company in the British regiment under command of Archibald Stewart, Esq., and that to secure this side of the Bann that regiment lay on the Bannside. That upon Tuesday, the 2d of January, 1641, to his best knowledge, James McColl McDonnell and Alexander MacColl MacDonnell, persuaded and took some of the Highland company of the same regiment, and drew together some Irish, and early in the morning of the same day (the British hearing an alarm but suspecting no danger) drew up towards one Coope's house, where they heard Mr. Stewart was drawing his regiment together, and in their march thither they espied a great number of men, with the Highland and other colours of British regiments their friends as they supposed, and they the British then sent one Murdoch to the said men, whom they by their colours supposed to be their own men, to see what news, which man coming up to them, they saw one come out of the said Highland company, and the other forces with them, and run him the said Murdoch through with a sword. And he saith that he saw the said James MacColl MacDonnell and the said Alexander MacColl MacDonnell lead on the said Highlanders and the Irish whom they had gathered with their head pieces on. And that when they came near where the British forces were drawn up, they went to the right and to the left hand, well-nigh encompassing the British, who until then, by reason of their colours, did not suspect them, and poured in upon the British a volley of shot upon which they seeing themselves so betrayed ran for their lives. And he saith, that of eleven files of Captain Peebles' company, he never could hear of any that escaped except himself and six more men. And this examt. saith that he believeth that the number of those who

were gathered together to murder the said regiment was about two thousand. And further he saith not.

Thomas Coote.
Richard Brasier.

10th May, 1653, this witness being called upon did not appear, but forfeited his recognisance. Stayed from being estreated, and upon his appearing admitted by order 13th May, 1653.

Note.

This deposition and most of those which follow relating to the massacres at Portnaw and Island Magee were taken for the High Courts of Justice and assizes in 1652–4. In the course of the ten years, however, between 1641 and 1651, old feuds had healed, and many of the persons who could give evidence respecting those massacres were willing to withhold it if asked to do so, by their neighbours and connections. Some who came forward and made depositions were bound over to appear at the trials of the accused, but in the meantime influence was brought to bear on them, and they failed to put in an appearance, Many, however, did appear at the eleventh hour, like Hamill. The MacDonnells and O'Cahanes were near relatives, and had relatives amongst the Highlanders and Irish, which caused a few lives here and there to be spared at Portnaw.

XXXIII.

The Examination of Donnell McCart, *of Ballycastle, in the county of Antrim, taken before us, 15th March,* 1652,

Who, being duly sworn and examined, saith that he, being a soldier in Fergus McDougal's company, about the 1st of January, 1641, to his best memory, Archibald Stewart, Esq. was desired to relieve and bring over the Bann Mr. George Canning, who was besieged by Manus Roe O'Cahan and his men, consisting of five hundred. Upon which the said Mr. Stewart instantly sent orders unto Portnaw, where six of the British companies under his command lay, to call fourteen or fifteen musketeers out of each company, unto the Cross, a place opposite unto the Castle of Aghgarvey, where Mr. Canning was besieged, to join with Captain Kennedy's company, who lay constantly at the Cross, to bring Mr. Canning and his goods unto the east side of the Bann. That upon Tuesday, the 2d day of January, as he remembers, James McColl McDonnell, Allaster

McColl McDonnell, *Tirlogh Oge O'Cahan*, Donnell Gorme McDonnell, secured the Highland company, being one of the companies under Mr. Stewart's command, who kept themselves distinct, and sent not a man out of their company to bring over Mr. Canning (excusing it by their captain Randal McDonnel's absence) and what other Irish of the country they could persuade to join with them; and in the absence of that party, which had gone into the Cross to relieve Mr. Canning, they fell upon the remainder of the British companies, which were quartered at several places near Portnaw (distant the space of half a mile one from the other) two hours before day, when this examt. and five or six more of the said Fergus McDougal's company were taken prisoners, and their lives saved by Allaster MacColl, because they were Highlanders. And this deponent saith, that he believes there were above forty of the British murdered that night.

And being demanded why no resistance was made by the British, he saith that they did not suspect any danger seeing James McColl Donnell's white colours, which he brought out of Scotland through the twilight, crossing along with those Highland and Irish soldiers, who overnight were part of the said Mr. Stewart's regiment. But saith, that Captain Peebles' company having some jealousy, and sending out of the company to James McColl McDonnell to know what the alarum then raised meant, he saith that upon the same messenger coming to him (James McColl) he was knocked on the head, and then they fell upon the said Capt. Peebles' company, and killed most of them. And that the same day, John Mortimer, Manus Roe O'Cahan, and about four or five hundred men came and joined with James MacColl that night, and they set all the houses at the Cross on fire, and several other houses in the country, and burnt the town of Ballymena, and from thence they marched into Dromart, where this examt. made his escape from them, into Ballintoy. And that the next night they marched to Garvagh, and burnt as they went along, and killed all they could meet with. And further saith not.

Tho. Coote.
Rich. Brasier, *Mayor*.

Note.

In this deposition the two MacDonnells are called by their right names, Alexander MacColl and James MacColl MacDonnell, *i.e.* Alexander, the son of Coll and James, the son of Coll MacDon-

nell. There would appear to be some mistake in the date of the massacre being Tuesday, the 2d of January, for that day of the month seems to have fallen on a Sunday. (See Deposition No. XXIII. and *Note.*)

XXXIV.

The Examination of Allen MacVeagh Cart, *of Stronangalmore, in the parish of Armoy, husbandman, taken before us, 9th March,* 1652,

Who, being duly sworn and examined, saith, that he was a soldier in Fergus McDougall's company under the command of Archibald Stewart, Esq., who had the charge of a regiment of British, ordered to lie at Portnaw on the Bannside, to secure the route against the Irish rebels on the west side of the Bann. That the said Mr. Stewart, about the 1st of January, 1641, having called about fourteen musketeers out of each of the British companies lying there, to relieve Mr. Canning and bring him over the Bann; James McColl McDonnell, Alexander McColl McDonnell, *Tirlogh Oge O'Cahan*, John Duffe McAllaster, Donell Gorme McDonnell, and such other of the country as they could get together to join with them (having no confidence, as this examt. heard, in the British), took opportunity, by the weakness of the British then at Portnaw, and upon the night of the same day murdered all the British soldiers lying at Portnaw, except a very few who escaped, and some few to whom, with this examt., they gave quarter unto. And this examt. further saith, that the day after the murder at Portnaw, he saw Donnell Groome MacAllaster, and Coll MacAllaster, now a prisoner in Coleraine, with a company of men marching in company with those who murdered the soldiers at Portnaw. And this examt. also saith, that one or two days after he stole from the Irish and went to his own house near Ballintoy. And this examt. being demanded who murdered Janet Dilliston, *alias* Wilson, whom his uncle John MacCart had protected and kept in his house, saith, that it was three men that Gilduffe O'Cahan sent to kill her, whose names were Conogher Reagh O'Cahan, the same Gilduffe's son, Donell Groome O'Cahan, McDonell Modder, and Conogher O'Cahan, Brian Ballagh's son. And being demanded how he knows that it was Gilduffe O'Cahan that sent these men to kill the said Janet, he saith that the said Gilduffe O'Cahan, having called that part of the country to a meeting at the Creagh, this examinant and his uncle John McCart, went there, and after they had sat there a little while

the aforesaid three men of Gilduffe's came unto the place of meeting, and told openly that they had killed the said Janet, at which the said John McCart was very angry, and then the said Gilduffe O'Cahan bid the said John to hold his tongue, for said he so long as that old woman Janet Dilliston, *alias* Wilson, is alive, she would hinder us to get Ballintoy, by her witchcraft, and so this examt. doth verily believe that the said Gilduffe sent them on purpose to kill her. And saith she was killed about ten days after the Portnaw murder. And also this examt. saith, that Owen McVeagh McCart also found fault that the said Janet was killed, and that Gilduffe O'Cahan did say, that if the said Owen's mother was such a witch as to prevent them from getting the house at Ballintoy, he would kill her. And further saith not.

THOMAS COOTE.
RICH. BRASIER.

XXXV.

28*th February*, 1652. *The Examination of* SHANE O'COLL, *of Ballycastle, innkeeper, in the county of Antrim, taken before us the day and year before written,*

Who, being duly sworn and examined, saith, that he being enlisted in one Captain Glover's company, part of the British forces of the route under the command of Archibald Stewart, Esq., of the same company, for the security of the country, was appointed to garrison at Portnaw. And that upon or about the second day of January, 1641, one called Tirlogh Oge O'Cahan and Allister MacDonnell, with two companies of men, fell upon part of the said Captain Glover's company and one Captain Peebles' company there garrisoned a little before day, and murdered about threescore men; that this examt. and only three more of Captain Glover's company escaped to Ballycastle. That a short time after, this examt. saw Thomas Robinson led stark naked down the street of Ballycastle, by Ferraghe Mackay and Patrick McAghie, who with swords slashed him down near the back of the stable at Ballycastle and murdered him. And this examt. further saith, that he met one Duncan Grier at Ballycastle, who was grievously wounded in his back with a pike, of which wound he soon after died; that this examt. asked him who stabbed him, and he told this examt. that it was one Donald MacPhelimy MacCormac, who now dwells at Glanbush, in the parish of Armoy. And further saith not.

THOMAS COOTE.
RICH. BRASIER.

XXXVI.

Fergus Fullerton, of the parish of Billy, maltman, duly sworn and examined, saith that he was one of the British soldiers under the command of Captain Fergus MacDougall, who lay at Portnaw to keep the Bannside. That on the 2d day of January, 1641, the Irish Highlanders, who were part of the regiment under the command of Archibald Stewart, Esq., did rise in the night, about two hours before day, and murdered about twenty of Captain Glover's company and some British and other companies in the same regiment, to the number of sixty, as he hath heard, and that this examt. was at the same time wounded in the head by one of Alexander McDonnell's soldiers, and that Alexander McDonnell gave him quarter for his life. And the examt. being demanded who led and commanded the Irish Highlanders who then murdered the British, saith that it was James McColl McDonnell, Alexander McDonnell, *Tirlogh Oge O'Cahan.*

And that in the morning soon after the said murder so committed, Brian O'Hagan, Henry O'Hagan, Art O'Hagan, and all their tenants and followers, being inhabitants of Maghersharlin parish, in the county of Antrim (the said Mr. Stewart being called up with his regiment to quiet a rising or uproar in the Brayd), went over the Bann, into Londonderry county, then in rebellion, and returned back again the said morning with one John Mortimer, and about five companies of Manus Roe O'Cahane's regiment, to assist the said murderers, and joined with them instantly, and marching through the country set many houses on fire, and burned the whole town of Ballymoney, and killed all the British as he heard that they could lay their hands on. And further he saith, that Donell Gorm McDonnell, Neil Oge MacMullan, and Donoghy MacMullan, and several others whose names he doth not know as soon as the said John Mortimer and the aforesaid companies came over the Bann, joined with them, and with the said James McColl McDonnell, and others, the aforesaid murderers at Portnaw, and marched through the country with them, when they burned the said houses and town of Ballymoney, and killed divers of the British all along unto the house of Ballintoy, from whence they marched to Cragballynoe, and the next day Gilduffe O'Cahan marched with them unto Dunluce, and quartered their men at Ballymagarry near Dunluce. The next morning James MacColl McDonnell, Gilduffe O'Cahan, and Alexander McDonnell and John

Mortimer wrote a letter unto Captain Digby, who with the British kept Dunluce Castle, thereby summoning and requiring him to surrender it, or else they would burn the town of Dunluce, that upon refusal to surrender it, Gilduffe O'Cahan and John Mortimer caused the town of Dunluce to be burned, which the said Alexander McDonnell would not consent unto, but went away with his company. The next day they marched back to Oldstown, where they made a proclamation, that any that spoke English should be hanged, upon which Alexander McDonnell bade his soldiers and those he had protected not speak English for twenty-four hours, being ready to fall out with the Irish that made such a proclamation. From thence they all marched to Oldstown where, meeting with some of the Irish of the baronies of Toome and Antrim, they were near 2,000 men. That they summoned Oldstown, which was yielded unto them, in the space of three-quarters of an hour, after which the enemy separated and every company went to its own quarters, and this examt. was after that set at liberty. And further saith not. Taken before us, 1st of March, 1652.

THOMAS COOTE.
RICH. BRASIER.

Note.

This witness was, like the rest, bound over to appear when called upon, and not to leave Coleraine without license, but he failed to appear, and forfeited his recognisance.

XXXVII.

JAMES MACCONNELL, of Ballymena, cooper, duly sworn and examined, saith, that he dwelt at Portnaw, and wrought there at his trade in the beginning of the rebellion. And that all the Irish on the west side of the Bann being in rebellion, the English and Scotch that formerly dwelt there could not escape being murdered. As he heard Mr. Archibald Stewart raised a regiment to keep the Bann side, and Alaster McColl McDonnell and Tirlogh Oge O'Cahan had command of two companies of the said regiment. And they and their men being Highlanders and Irish did, upon the 2d day of January, 1641, before daybreak fall upon seven or eight of the British regiments that also there kept the Bannside and lay in the quarters at Portnaw, some quarter or half mile distant from one another, and murdered them all, save a very few that were

saved by their old Irish acquaintances. That this examt. was taken prisoner by the said Alaster MacColl and Tirlogh Oge's followers the same morning, and stripped, but his life was saved by one Neil Modder MacMullan, his neighbour. That after this examt. was taken prisoner the said Alaster MacColl, Tirlogh Oge, with all the Irish of the country, who after the said murders at Portnaw did rise with them in a great multitude under the command of John Mortimer and the other Irish officers who came over the Bann, marched unto James McColl McDonnell's house near the Bann side, where they drew up their men, and he, this examt., being carried along with them as prisoner, and having some acquaintance with the said James, this examt. desired him to save his, this examt.'s wife's life, who answered that he could not save his own wife's life if they would kill her. That thereupon the Irish on both sides the Bann then present with their wives and children, fearing the remnant of Mr. Stewart's regiment (as this examt. conceived) kept together, and marching into the Cross set it on fire, and killed all the British they could lay their hands on, except a very few, who were spared by their acquaintance among the Irish, but afterwards, if they went out of their acquaintance's sight, they were killed by others of the Irish. That from the Cross they marched unto Ballymoney, and came there the evening of the day the murder was committed, and murdered the British not fled thereout without distinction of age or sex. That one Donnell Gorme MacDonnell, of Killaquin in Magherasharkin parish, being with the Irish army, then took notice of this examt. and sent him the next day back again with a guard unto his own house at Killaquin, and that he, this examt., saw lie dead in the way as he returned at least one hundred men, women, and children of the British, who had been murdered the day before, and that he believes many were killed on both sides the way as they returned. That the said Donnell Gorme MacDonnell did not return unto his own house until two or three days after that. And saith that all the O'Hagans went over the Bann from their own houses, in the absence of Mr. Stewart's regiment, which went to Magheraoghil, in the Braid, except Brian O'Hagan, then sick. And this examt. stayed at the said Donell Gorme's house a fortnight, and in that time often heard the Irish call him captain. Taken before us, this 1st of March, 1652.

THOMAS COOTE.
RICH. BRASIER.

Note.

This deponent having been as usual bound over to appear was not forthcoming when called, on the 9th of May, 1653; but a note of a later date at the foot of the deposition says: 'This recognisance was stayed from being estreated, and the deponent appearing was admitted by order of the 18th of May, 1653.' It may be necessary to mention that the 'Braid' in the above is the name of a river and valley in Antrim, not far from Ballymena, and that the 'Route' mentioned in other depositions is the name of a district in the same county. The word 'Route' is said, by the best Irish scholars, to be a corruption of the last syllable of Dalriada, *i.e.* the portion or tribe of Cairbre Riada, King of Ireland in the third century, who led a party of Irish, or as they were then called, Scots, into Alba, or Scotia Minor, the present Scotland. The Route was long the territory of the MacQuillins or Maguillens, whose name is said by some writers to have been a corruption of MacLlewellyn, the son of Llewellyn, a Welsh colonist of Ulster in early times, whose posterity became 'more Irish than the Irish themselves.' Shane O'Neil, writing to Queen Elizabeth, calls the chief of the MacQuillens '*a meere Englishman*,' scornfully jesting on the English custom of describing the Irish as '*mere Irishmen*,' and the chief himself told Henry the Eighth's Lord Deputy that the cause of his rebellion had been, that his country was so far away from the pale that he had been forced to adhere to 'the Irish around him for his defence against others;' and the Lord Deputy writes, 'as he confesseth none of his name, since the first conquest of their said lande, being captains, have dyed in their beddes, but were all slayne by Irishmenne' (*Add. MSS. Brit. Mus.* 4,790). Notwithstanding those apparently indisputable proofs of their old British descent, the MacQuillens in modern times have preferred to consider themselves the descendants of a Fiacha MacUillin, said to have been the younger son of Niall of the nine hostages.

XXXVIII.

Robert Fathy, of Ballymoney parish, in the county of Antrim, duly sworn and examined, saith, that at the beginning of the rebellion he was a lieutenant in Captain Robert Stewart's regiment, under the command of Archibald Stewart, Esq., and that the same regiment being, by order from their commanders at Carrickfergus, called into the Braid to suppress an insurrection of the Irish there,

which was at that time likely to have been; in the absence of the same regiment from their quarters Brian O'Hagan and all the O'Hagans of the parish of Magherasharkin upon the Bannside, together with one William O'Sheil of Ballymoney, went over the said river Bann unto the Irish rebels, who were masters of the field there. And this examt. further saith that, after the said regiment returned to their quarters at Portnaw to keep the Bannside against the enemy, a part of the said regiment, all consisting of British (the said Irish Highlanders refusing), went to convey and secure one Mr. Canning and his men, who all or most consisted of English, over the Bann. That, whilst that part of the regiment was bringing over Mr. Canning and his men, Tirlogh Oge O'Cahan's company of Irish, consisting of about forty men, and Randal McDonnell's Highland soldiers, by the persuasion and setting on of James McColl McDonnell and Alaster McColl McDonnell, did fall upon that part of the British their fellow soldiers, who were left at Portnaw, upon the 2d day of January, about two hours before day, and murdered above threescore of the British soldiers. That this examt. and about eighty of the company whereof he was lieutenant, escaped to Ballymoney, and that some of the British soldiers that night had their lives saved by James McColl McDonnell and Donnell Gorme McDonnell; as John McJemmett, who then escaped, told this examt., and also as James McConnell reported to divers, who also told this examt. And further he saith, that the morning the murder was done at Portnaw, divers of the Irish came over the Bann, with one John Mortimer and some Irish officers, and also that the said Brian O'Hagan and other the O'Hagans, and the said William O'Sheil, who formerly had gone over the Bann in the said regiment, absconded in the Braid, and came back, as he had credibly heard, with Mortimer and the said Irish forces, and joined with the said James McColl McDonnell and the rest of the Irish murderers at Portnaw. And that they fired several houses in the country, and marched into the town of Ballymoney, and burnt it.

And this examt. further saith, that Patrick Collier and his wife, and about forty persons more, went to Toole McAllister's house at Carntrim in Deerlighan parish the next night after the murder at Portnaw, being the 3rd day of January, 1641, as he hath credibly heard, and that also he credibly heard that Patrick Collier's wife ran into Toole McAllister's house at Carntrim, and gave him six pounds and a bottle of aqua vitæ to save her and her companions' lives. After which the said Patrick Collier and his wife, with about

forty more of the British, were close by the said house murdered by the said Toole MacAllister, Coll McAllister and his son, Donell O'Cahan, his son-in-law, and their tenants and friends there assembled, as one Joan, wife to John Campbell, now living with Captain McPheadris at Loughgall, who was there wounded and left there for dead, but afterwards recovered and escaped, did report, and also as John Hunter, who had his father and mother there murdered and himself desperately wounded, being left for dead, but afterwards recovered as much strength as to escape to Coleraine, where he told this examt. of these murders by the persons aforesaid; he himself being then at Coleraine under cure, with William Sterling, of the wounds received by the said McAllisters and their men at Carntrim aforesaid, of which wounds he died in Coleraine, as this examt. believes. And this examt. further saith, that after General Lesley, in or about August, 1642, had received into protection Toole McAllister, Col McAllister, Donnell O'Cahan, Hugh O'Neil, and other of their followers, he, this examt., met with the said Hugh O'Neil and Coll McAllister at the Cross of Ballymoney parish. And this examt. questioned the said Hugh O'Neil why he would be so unkind as to suffer Patrick Collier's wife, whom he called foster mother, to be killed at his father's house, who answered this examt. that it was Coll MacAllister then present, and their wicked crew, with his father and brothers, that killed her and the rest at Carntrim, and that he the said Coll and the rest might yet be questioned for it, whereupon the said Coll McAllister went away, and Hugh O'Neil and he parted in anger. And this examt. further saith, that the said Hugh O'Neil further told this examt. that he went to Carntrim, hearing that the said Patrick Collier and his wife and other the British there were fled thither, on purpose to save them, but that they were murdered the same day, or the day before he came there, by the said Toole McAllister, Coll McAllister, Donnell O'Cahan, and their followers and friends. And further he saith not. Taken before us, 2nd March, 1652.

THOMAS COOTE.
RICHD. BRASIER, *Mayor.*

XXXIX.

JANET NEAVEN, of the parish of Billy, widow, duly sworn and examined, saith, that about three days after the murders at Portnaw, the Irish rebels marched through the parish of Billy, towards Ballintoy. That this examt., with her young child, fled into the

moors, together with another poor woman, for safety of their lives, because that as the Irish rebels marched through the said parish they murdered all the British they could lay their hands on, amongst others this examt.'s father and mother and brother. That Allaster MacColl MacDonnell and John Mortimer did lead on and were in company with the said rebels who murdered the British, and that John Mortimer did upon that day ride upon a black horse. That after she, this examt., and her child had lain two nights and two days in the said moors, she and her child being ready to starve, left the moors, and by providence one MacNeil, since dead, saved her life, and that the third day, after her father, mother, and many more British were murdered, she came into Mounister in Deerlighan parish, where she heard from the Irish and Highlanders there, that her brother, John Neaven, was murdered the night before by one Anthony Logan, who took him out of Tirlogh MacRichard O'Cahan's house, which Anthony is yet living in Deerlighan parish. And further saith not. Taken before us, 9th March, 1652.

Thomas Coote.
Richd. Brasier, *Mayor.*

XL.

John Blair, of Coleraine, yeoman, duly sworn and examined, saith, that soon after the murders at Portnaw, James MacColl MacDonnell, James MacHenry O'Cahan, Allister MacColl McDonnell, Gilduffe O'Cahan, Tirlogh Oge O'Cahan, Henry McHenry, Patrick O'Hara, Donnell Magee, and John Mortimer, with almost all the Irish gentry of the Route, as he then conceived and hath since oftentimes heard, came with near three thousand men against Oldstown Castle, then under the keeping of Walter Kennedy and some of the British, whereof this examt. was one. That after the said persons and their men approached the said castle, only two shots having been shot against them from it, of which this examt. shot one, the said Walter Kennedy yielded up the castle unto the said James MacColl MacDonnell and the rest (without the privity or consent of the British), upon quarter for their lives. That he this examt. saw the said James McColl McDonnell, John Mortimer, and Donald Magee enter the castle with many more, whom after so long a time he cannot well remember. That the said James McColl and Donald Magee made this examt. and others of the British, go into a loft in a back house of the castle bawn, and afterwards into a garret in the castle, where they were prisoners

eight weeks. That James McColl McDonnell's wife commanded the house all the time, whose name is Mary Burnett, who threatened to hang this examt. had not James Purcell's wife begged (*i.e.* interceded) for him. That notwithstanding the said quarter given for life upon surrender of the castle, this examt. saw about twenty women with children upon their backs and in their hands knocked down and murdered under the castle wall, by the soldiers who were along with the said Irish gentlemen, who being there near at hand were looking on. And that about threescore old men, women, and children, who upon surrender of the said castle had quarter and license to go unto (*illegible*) or Carrickfergus, were on the day, or the day after, the castle was surrendered, murdered by the O'Hara's party within a mile and a half of the said castle. That this examt. remained in prison in Oldstown for sixteen weeks, or nearly that time, and that James McColl McDonnell and his wife commanded in the said castle with a guard. That about May, 1642, this examt., with the rest of the British there, were set at liberty, upon a letter from the Earl of Antrim, directed unto the said James McColl. And that during this examt.'s imprisonment he did often see Toole McAllister, Coll McAllister, Donnell Magee, Henry McHenry, and his brother James McHenry, Tiegne Buie O'Hara, Gilduffe O'Cahan, and Tirlogh Oge O'Cahan, with Irish followers after them, resorting to the said castle. And further he saith not. Taken before us, 8th March, 1652.

Thos. Coote.
Richd. Brasier, *Mayor.*

XLI.

Donell Spence, of the parish of Billy, duly sworn and examined, saith, that Tirlogh Oge O'Cahan, with his two brothers, and about eleven or twelve men in their company, did enter into this examt.'s father's house, about nine or ten o'clock of the night, and this examt.'s father, drawing his sword, went out to the door, and upon promise of quarter he yielded his sword, and was forthwith thereafter (as this examt. believes by Tirlogh Oge O'Cahane's command) murdered, together with this examt.'s mother and grandmother, who had before that time been blind, being about eighty years of age, and also the servant of Neil Mor was murdered by them at that time. And this examt. fled and escaped to Dunluce. And further saith not. Taken before us, 1st March, 1652.

Tho. Coote.
Rich. Brasier.

XLII.

Donell Magoune, of Moneymore, in the parish of Loughgall, labourer, duly sworn and examined, saith, that the next night after the murder at Portnaw, being at Ballymoney, and seeing all the country on fire, he fled towards Culfaghtrim parish, where a brother of his dwelt. And that about four or five nights after he came thither he saith he saw one William Erwin (*illegible*) and his wife Margaret murdered by Tirlogh O'Donnell and Phelimy O'Boyle with a pike; and that after the said William was cast down from the rock into the sea, the said Phelimy kept him down with a pike until he was drowned. And that Rory O'Draghan and Patrick Magoune were also present and saw them commit the same murders. And further saith not. Taken before us, this 4th of March, 1652.

Thos. Coote.
Rich. Brasier.

Note.

The Erwins, whose murder is here mentioned, were probably relatives of the John Erwin or Erwyn, who murdered the women at Ballymartin in February, 1643 (*v. ante*, p. 152). With their usual care the Commissioners of 1652 sought corroboration of this evidence.

XLIII.

Rory O'Draghan, of Culfeaghtrim, labourer, duly sworn and examined, saith, that soon after the murders at Portnaw he was present and did see and behold, when Tirlogh Oge O'Donnell, now living in Ragheries, and Phelimy O'Boyle, since gone for France, did rob and strip William Erwin and his wife at the Saltpans near Ballycastle, that after the said William and his wife were stripped, the said William ran unto the sea side near the Saltpans, and his wife followed him. And the said Tirlogh O'Donnell and Phelimy O'Boyle and others, whom this examt. did not know, followed them, upon which the said William Erwin and his wife for safety of their lives wading into the sea, the said Phelimy O'Boyle stuck his pike into the said William Erwin's neck, and held him under the water till he was drowned. And the said William Erwin's wife at the same time coming back out of the sea, the said Tirlogh O'Donnell threw a great stone upon her, so that she was likewise drowned at

the same time. And further saith not. Taken before us, this 9th of March, 1652.

Thos. Coote.
Rich. Brasier, *Mayor.*

XLIV.

The Examination of David Gray, *of Billy, in the county Antrim, taken before us, 1st March,* 1652,

Who, being duly sworn and examined, saith, that after the murders at Portnaw, all the country, so far as it consisted of Scotch, were running to the caves, holes, and rocks, for safety of their lives, the country houses being all set on fire by the Irish, who were commanded by Gilduffe O'Cahan's three sons, Tirlogh Oge, Manus and Cormack Reagh O'Cahan, who also were commanded by Allaster McDonnell. And this examt. saith, that at that time he was miller of Mr. Stewart's mill, near the house at Dunseverick, and that he flying for fear of his life towards Ballintoy, some musketeers were sent after him, who belonged unto the said Gilduffe's said sons, who, overtaking him, gave him, this examt., choice whether he would go back with them to the said Gilduffe, or be there killed; whereupon this examt. went back to the said Gilduffe O'Cahan, who said he would save his life, and about a month after he employed this examt. to keep the said mill, and he saith that sometimes there he saw Allister MacDonnell, John Mortimer, and the said sons of Gilduffe O'Cahan with him the said Gilduffe at Dunseverick. And further he saith, that the said Gilduffe O'Cahan went twice with his said sons and companies unto Ballintoy, to wit, at the time the church at Ballintoy was assaulted, and also when they carried the sow and the cannon against Ballintoy House. And further he saith, that John Mortimer being at Dunseverick, told this examt. that he knew by his eyes he was a Scotchman, and that he would kill all Scotchmen. And further, this examt. saith, that Gilduffe O'Cahan's said sons and their soldiers killed and murdered (*sic*) John Spence and his wife, and his mother, and Allaster McNeil's daughter, Guy Cochrane's son, and Robert MacCurdy's son, about the 4th of January, 1641, about a mile from Dunseverick, and that he heard the said Connogher O'Cahan say that he killed the said John Spence with his own hands. And further saith not.

Thos. Coote.
Richd. Brasier, *Mayor.*

XLV.

The Examination of Gillcomey McHallgar, *of Dunnard, in the parish of Cullfaghtrim, yeoman, taken before us at Coleraine, 3d of March*, 1652,

Who, being duly sworn and examined, saith, that he was present, and did see and behold, when one whom he heard was called Donogh MacGuiggin MacAwly, about three days after the murder at Portnaw, did kill and murder at Portmagee, near Ballycastle, Hugh Hill and Gilbert Gamill and his son with a skeane; and that Ferdoragh Magee and Coll McAllister, with many more Irishmen, whom he, this examt., did not know, were standing upon a hill near the said place, called Portmagee, beholding the said Donnoghy murder the said three persons, and that at the same time this examt. fled with the said Ferdoragh Magee, for security of his life, he having been fosterer to his mother's brother, and tenant to his mother's kindred.

Tho. Coote.
Richd. Brasier, *Mayor*.

XLVI.

The Examination of Robert Oge Steuart, *of the parish of Culfaghtrim, gent., taken before us at Coleraine, the said 4th of March*, 1652,

Who, being duly sworn and examined, saith, that two days after the murder at Portnaw he was present and did behold, his life being then protected and saved by Col MacAllister, when one Donoghy MacGuiggan McAwley murdered Hugh Hill and Gilbert Gamill and his son at Portmagee. That there were at the same time present, and looking on from the top of the hill, the said Coll McAllister, Cormack O'Dullenan, and Shane McVeagh McCormack, with about one hundred in their company. And this examt. further saith, that Ferdoragh Magee was at this examt.'s house the same day the former murder was committed, and that William Giffen was murdered by Ferdoragh Magee and Patrick MacAghy at the back of this examt.'s house, the said Ferdoragh being present, beholding the said murder.

Thomas Coote.
Rich. Brasier.

Note.

John MacQuillan, sworn and examined, deposed that he was present when MacAwley murdered Hugh Hill and the Gamills, and that Ferdoragh Magee was standing by while the murders were committed. Owen MacClery, of Ballycastle, swore that McAwly murdered in his presence one John Arthur, a miller, near Ballycastle, and Thomas Giffen swore that his brother was murdered by MacAwly, Daniel Magee, gent., being then present on horseback with a sword in his hand, but that he did not take part in the murder, '*neither did he do anything to prevent it.*' Most of the accused arrested and imprisoned were examined by the same magistrates (not on oath), and allowed to make statements in court and out of it, in their own defence, besides having counsel and witnesses on their behalf. The royalist party in fact asserted that the republican officials and the judges deliberately allowed the worst offenders in the north to escape punishment, and that if Phelim O'Neil had consented to accuse the king of having sent him the commission he too would have been pardoned. But there is as little truth in the one assertion as in the other. O'Neil was executed as the chief leader of the rebels who committed the murders. The records of the trials of the rest of the northern rebels (O'Neil excepted) have been lost or burnt, at least so I was informed by the officials in the public record offices; but the depositions and examinations taken before the trials in 1652–3 show that every care was taken to secure an impartial hearing of each case.

XLVII.

Gilduffe O'Cahan, of Dunseverick, in the county of Antrim, gentleman, being examined, saith that upon Sunday, the 24th of October, 1641, in the morning, he came from his house of Dunseverick unto the town of Dunluce, with a little footboy, having no more company with him, with an intent to hear mass there, but there being no mass there that day, he, this examt., went into James Stewart's house in Dunluce to drink a cup of wine, and that about ten of the clock, the same Sunday morning, Henry MacHenry, his son-in-law, and his, this examt.'s, own son, Manus O'Cahan, came unto him to the said house, where they drank three or four pottles of wine. That about one or two of the clock the same Sunday, in the afternoon, Captain MacPhedris, Mr. Archibald Boyd, and

ten or twelve horsemen, with swords and pistols, came into Dunluce and reported that Sir Phelimy Roe O'Neil and the Irish in Tyrone were all risen in rebellion, and the said Captain McPhedris and the rest with him made the Scotch in Dunluce arm themselves, and draw down into the new pavement in the inner court, next the draw-bridge and outer gate of Dunluce Castle, which this examt. hearing of and observing, was very soon after told by one, Doole McSporran, a Highland Scotchman, who dwelt at Bushmills, and came into the said house where he, this examt., and his son-in-law, Henry Mac-Henry, and his son Manus were drinking wine, that five hundred of Argyle's men were coming over the Bush Bridge, near a mile distant from Dunluce, to take Dunluce Castle, and command the country. Upon which news this examt. left his sons drinking wine in the said house, and went down alone, having no weapon but his rapier, about three of the clock in the same afternoon, into the said inner court, wherein the Scotch were gathered, and asked Captain MacPheadris what news brought him and the rest thither. Captain MacPheadris told him that the said Phelimy O'Neil and all the Irish in Tyrone were risen in rebellion, whereupon this examt. told the said captain that he rather believed the Scots and the said five hundred men intended to join together to take the castle of Dunluce. Whereupon, this examt. alone went into the castle, and bolted the outer gate, and stayed there alone about half an hour. And then Anthony, Captain Digby's man, who had the key of the castle, came to the outer gate, and this examt. unbolted it, and let him in, and demanded of him the key of the inner gate, which he gave to this examt., who opened it and went into the castle.

And about a quarter of an hour afterwards, Captain Digby and his said son, Henry McHenry and Manus O'Cahan, came down into the castle, with about eight Englishmen, belonging to the Earl of Antrim and Captain Digby, to whom this examt. opened the castle gate and let them in, but both he and Captain Digby refused to suffer the Scotch to come in, lest they should surprise the arms in the castle, until an order came from the Deputy of Ireland, or the Earl of Antrim. And this examt. being demanded whether the news was true that five hundred men of Argyle's were coming over the Bush Bridge said it was a false alarm. And that about ten of the clock, the same Sunday night, the Earl of Antrim's brother, Mr. Alexander McDonnell, Archibald Stewart, Esq., and this examt.'s son, Tirlogh O'Cahan, came into the new pavement, near the castle gate, the bridge being drawn up and the gate locked, and called unto the

sentinel. Whereupon, this examt. went up unto an upper room over the castle gate, and thrusting out his head, asked who they were and what they wanted. The said Mr. Alexander McDonnell answered, that he was there, and Mr. Archibald Stewart and this examt.'s son, Tirlogh Oge O'Cahan, who desired to come into the castle. And this examt. and Captain Digby told them that they three might come in, but none else with them; and they promising that none would enter but themselves, the drawbridge was let down and the gate opened at the said hour of the night, and the three entered.

That after Mr. Alexander MacDonnell, with Mr. Stewart and this examt.'s son Tirlogh were entered the castle, Mr. Alexander asked this examt. wherefore he entered the Castle of Dunluce in such manner and kept out the Scotch. To which this examt. answered, that it was by reason of the before-mentioned report of five hundred of Argyle's men that were coming, who, with the Scots, he feared would surprise the castle. That this examt. and his sons, Henry MacHenry and Manus O'Cahan, stayed in the said castle until Thursday following, with the said Captain Digby and his men, upon which day a letter coming from the Earl of Antrim directed unto Captain Digby to take charge of the said castle, this examt. and his said son departed the castle, and went to their own homes.

That he, this examt., from that day until the murder at Portnaw, joined with Mr. Archibald Stewart in keeping the Route in peace and quietness, which murders at Portnaw were plotted by his, this examt.'s son, Tirlogh O'Cahan, Alaster Coll MacDonnell, James MacColl MacDonnell, and others now dead, as his son Tirlogh and others told him. That the said murder was committed by them, and their men, upon the 3d of January, 1641, as he remembers, and that he heard that there were sixty or eighty of the British there killed. And that after that murder, the Irish on the other side and this side the Bann, having for their chief commanders, James MacColl MacDonnell, Alaster MacColl MacDonnell, Patrick MacHenry, Manus Roe O'Cahan, John Mortimer, Tirlogh Oge O'Cahan, this examt.'s son, and divers others, since dead, did with fire and sword march through the Route, and killed the Scotch wheresoever they got them, as he heard. That this examt. being at his own house at Dunseverick, Alaster McColl McDonnell, and others the chief commanders last mentioned, about two days after Portnaw murder, coming over the Bush Water, sent for this examt., who dwelt but a mile thence, to go along with them to Ballintoy.

That he met them near Ballintoy, and that the garrison of Scotchmen there, being summoned to yield Ballintoy House, by Alaster MacColl and the said commanders, they of the said garrison refused to yield. Upon which those commanders, to wit, the said James MacColl MacDonnell, Alaster MacColl, John Mortimer, and his, examt.'s son, Tirlogh Oge O'Cahan, and others now dead, and their men, consisting of about three hundred men, marched that night to Cragballynoe, and encamped there; and this examt., with Colonel Manus Roe O'Cahan, who came with his men over the Bann after the murder at Portnaw, went that night along with this examt. unto his said house at Dunseverick, where his two sons, Henry McHenry and Brian Modder McHenry, with their families, then lived. That the next day the said commanders marched from Cragballynoe unto Dunluce, and compelled this examt. to go along with them, to see if Captain Digby would take this examt.'s counsel sooner than theirs, to yield the castle of Dunluce unto them. That the said Captain Digby, after summons sent by them, and counsel given by this examt. unto him by a boy to yield the castle upon quarter, he refused to yield it or to take quarter. After which, some of the common soldiers, without any commands to this examt.'s knowledge, set a house on fire, whereby the whole town of Dunluce was burnt; and he saith that he did not see any killed at that time at Dunluce, but he heard that one Scotchman, called John Galt, was killed by one of Colonel Manus Roe O'Cahan's soldiers, called McJasson, by the new buildings in the court next the castle.

That the same night, after Dunluce was set on fire, the said commanders and their men quartered at Ballinmagarry, a mile distant from Dunluce, and that he this examt. and his sons-in-law, Henry MacHenry and Brian Modder MacHenry, stayed with them that night, and that the next day the said commanders and their men marched towards Oldstown, and this examt. went to his own house, but where his said sons-in-law went he doth not know. And this examt. being demanded who killed John Roe Spence, his tenant, and his wife, and two or three more at Ballyallarty, upon this examt.'s lands near his house, he saith that about two days after the murder at Portnaw, his son Tirlogh Oge O'Cahan came into this examt.'s house at Dunseverick, late in the night, with some few soldiers, and told him that this examt.'s said tenant, John Roe Spence, and his wife and three or four more whose names he doth not remember, were killed that night by his men. And this examt. asked his son Tirlogh if he gave command so to do, and he said he did not give

full command, but that he did not hinder it. Whereupon this examt. cursed them for killing his good tenants. And this examt. saith, that Alastor McColl McDonnell sent orders unto this examt, in the beginning of November, 1641, to besiege and assault and get into the church of Ballintoy, then kept by the British, upon peril of his life. That soon after this examt., not daring to do otherwise, went unto Ballintoy, and he, this examt., with Tirlogh Oge's men, and Donnell Groome and Dwaltagh MacAllister's men, who then lay about Ballintoy, went to the said church and assaulted it, seeking to force the door; that three of the assailants were killed by shots sent out of the church, and this examt., he being under or near the church wall, was hit upon his head piece with a small stone, thrown out of the church, whereupon he, the said men, retreated. That soon after his said son, Tirlogh Oge O'Cahan, and his men, and the said MacAllister's men did again assault the same church, and endeavoured to break the wall with pickaxes, but were beaten off with the loss of two men. And this examt. further saith, that after the Irish had beaten the British in the Layney and killed very many, and taken several colours, he this examt. and his sons, Henry MacHenry and Tirlogh Oge O'Cahan, wrote a letter unto Mr. Fullerton and Archibald Boyd, then in Ballintoy House, for surrender of it, certifying, amongst other things, that Mr. Stewart's and (*illegible*) forces were all killed, with no other forces than their own, and so wished them to surrender the house, and as they had souls to save promised they would conduct them with a good convoy from thence to Coleraine, or Inver, which letter, containing much more, being now showed unto this examt., he said that he and his said two sons subscribed that letter, and sent it unto the said persons, hoping that upon the news therein they would surrender the said house. That the British in the said house not surrendering it upon the said letter, this examt.'s said son, Tirlogh Oge O'Cahan, and Alaster McColl McDonnell, as was threatened in the said letter, soon after sent for cannon and brought it against Ballintoy, and shot two shots at the said house, and also caused a sow to be made, which they brought near unto the house, but it did no service.

And this examt. being demanded which of the Irish gentry commanded the Irish who encamped at Ballyreshane, and straitened the town of Coleraine, and besieged the British fled thither, he said that James McColl McDonnell, now prisoner at Carrickfergus, and Alexander MacColl MacDonnell, James MacHenry and divers others, since dead, were the chief commanders of those

who besieged the said town. And being demanded where Henry McHenry and Brian Modder McHenry, his two sons-in-law, then were, he said they were sometimes with him this examt. at his house at Dunseverick, and sometimes with the Irish camp at Ballyreshane aforesaid, and that himself never came thither but once all the time the Irish camp was there, and at that time he went to see his cousin, James MacHenry, whom he heard was sick. And this examt. being demanded who killed James Kerr, and a boy fetching water from a spring near Ballintoy church, he saith he heard it was one Patrick O'Laverty now in France, and then a soldier under his this examt.'s son, Tirlogh Oge O'Cahan, and further saith not. Taken before us, this 10th of March, 1652.

Thomas Cooke.
Rich. Brasier, *Mayor*.

Note.

Henry MacHenry, the preceding witness's son-in-law, being examined on the same day, confirmed Gillduffe's evidence in above deposition, adding that James McColl McDonnell threatened him and his family, and compelled them on peril of their lives to join him. Brian Modder MacHenry O'Cahan deposed to the same effect, and to the murder of John Roe Spence and his wife and family, adding that he saw no British killed, but had seen about forty corpses of men lying in several places in the Route, which were, he believed, men killed by the Irish. That he and the rest of the Irish fled away over the Bann in May, 1642, when the Scotch army came to the Route, and that the Earl of Antrim afterwards gave him a 'piece of land on which he now lives,' and that Owen Roe O'Neil made him Lieutenant of a troop, in which he served a year and a half. O'Cahan and his son-in-law, it is more than probable, required no persuasion or threats to make them join the MacDonnells, but when charged with being their accomplices in the murders at Portnaw and elsewhere, they, as usual, endeavoured to save themselves by informing against their leaders.

XLVIII.

THE ISLAND MAGEE MASSACRE.

James Mitchel, of island Magee, sworn and examined, saith, that this deponent being at Ballycorry on the sabbath day, about sermon time in the afternoon, on which day the Irish of the island

Magee were murdered, when there was a great confluence of Scotchmen, met together at the said village of Ballycorry, from the county of Tyrone, from beyond the Bann water and from Ballymena, all strangers to this examt., who, as this examt. heard generally reported there, gave out that they had a warrant from the king to murder all the Irish, and that they would kill any man who would save and protect the Irish. And that this examt. meeting on his way home with one William Graham told him he, this examt., was afraid all their Irish neighbours would be killed that night, for that he heard the same at Ballycorry. And this examinant further saith, that he heard that the said party, at the town of Ballycorry, did threaten that they would kill Doctor Colville, because he would not show unto them the warrant for the execution of the Irish.

And this examt. also saith, that on the next morning after the said massacre, he went into the house of Eiver Magee, who, with his family, was on that Sunday night murdered, and saw John Marshall, now prisoner in the town of Carrickfergus, coming out of the house, with bloody brackens, and clothes hanging on a staff, which he carried on his shoulder, whereupon he, this examt., told him, the said John Marshall, that it had been fitter for him to bury the dead, than to take away any of the murdered person's clothes, who, making no answer, went unto his own house with the said clothes. And this examt. saith that he believes that the said John Marshall was a man apt to do mischief, for that within a short time after he, the said John Marshall, gave to one Thomas Russell, of Ballymenagh, a pottle of beer, for to kill one Janet McFarlane, a widow, in the island of Magee, because she demanded of the said Marshall some money, which he owed her, as this examt. was credibly informed; and it was generally reported in the country that the said Russell did thereupon murder the said woman according to the said Marshall's desire. And this examt. saith he knoweth not of any other persons other than these herein specified that were actors or accessories in the said massacres, and further saith not.

The Mark of J. M. James + Mitchell.

Taken before us, 1*st June*, 1653.

Owen Wynn.

John Reading.

Note.

Reid, or it may be his printer, has fallen into a curious error about this deposition. In a footnote to p. 313 of the first volume of his 'History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland,' he says that this

deponent was James Marshall, but his real name was James Mitchel, and he accused, as will be seen, one John Marshall of being an actor in the massacre. It may be necessary to mention that the word 'bracken' which appears in this and other depositions is the corruption of *breacan*, or, as the Highlanders and Scoto-Irish called it, the *breacan feile*, *i.e.* chequered or spotted covering, a piece of cloth two yards in width, and from four to six in length, which was arranged so as to form a petticoat, and to throw over the head and shoulders if necessary. The two following depositions give the date of the Island Magee massacre. One of them, that made by Bryan Magee, seems not to have been sworn, perhaps because he was himself accused of having had a share in the Portnaw massacre. But the deposition of Any Magill is sworn, and is perhaps the most important of all, as fixing the guilt on John Marshall and Loder. It will be seen that it was taken through an interpreter, as she could not speak English. It is to be hoped that those who have made the taking of Irish depositions through the medium of an interpreter a ground for accusing the magistrates and Commissioners of injustice towards the Irish, and of a desire to blacken them at the expense of the English Protestants, will have the grace to withdraw those accusations, completely refuted as they are by this deposition of poor Any Magill.

XLIX.

Any Magill, of Redbay, in the county of Antrim, spinster, being duly sworn and examined, saith that, on or about the first Sunday of January, 1641, she, with many others, to the number of ten persons, big and little, were in the house of Ever Magee, in the town of Garrayspinnell, in the Island Magee, when a great number of people came into the said house, with swords and pikes and some guns, about supper time in the night, and did not only slash and wound and hurt the said Ever Magee, but with the said guns discharging shots did shoot him through the neck, so that he died, and afterwards they killed the said Ever's wife and seven others in the said house that night, and plundered all the goods and other things that were therein, and left none in the said house alive but this examinant, to her knowledge. And the cause of this examinant's knowledge thereof is, that when the persons aforesaid did come in with weapons aforesaid, she knew not any of them, being in a fright, and amazement behind the said Ever Magee, when he

was so slashed, cut, mangled, and shot, but one John Marshall and young Robert Lader (*sic*) and she further deposeth, that the bullet that was shot into the said Ever Magee's neck, went on her neck also, the sign whereof is to be seen yet, so that she was also left for dead, and by the locks of her hair pulled or trailed from the bed, towards the door, by the said John Marshall, who cut away her girdle from about her, and took it with him. And this being done, the said persons went forth of the house at one door, and this examt. at the other door, and she escaped with her life into the rocks and cliffs of the said Isle Magee, by the shore side, and there continued that night, the day following, and the second night went away from them, and further saith not.

Taken before us, her
9th April, 1653. Any + Magill.
Sam. Bonnell. mark
(*illegible*.)

This examination was sworn to by the examt., as it was interpreted by Richard O'Cahane and Phelimy Magee to be truth. Taken before us

(*Illegible*)

Sam. Bonnell.

L.

The Examination of Bryan Magee, *aged twenty-eight or thereabouts, husbandman, of* (*illegible*), *in the county Down, taken at Lisnogarvy*, 21*st of April*, 1653,

Who saith that, about the 8th of January, 1641, this examt., then living in Island Magee, in his father's house, Owen Magee, in the night about bedtime some one knocked at the door, and this examt.'s mother opened it, and there came in Robert Brown, now living in the Isle Magee, and his son James, with their swords drawn, and several others of the neighbours, to the number of eleven and upwards, with pitchforks, staves, and other weapons, which said persons that are still living are as followeth :—William Gillis, of the Isle Magee, William Boyd and James Boyd of the same, Alexander McMaster and John McMaster, the elder and younger, John Nelson, the son of James Nelson, and they killed at that time Jane, mother of this examt., and Margaret O'Camell, and Ever and Doltagh Magee, a sucking child, brothers to this examt., and Margaret and Mauria, sisters to this examt. ; but this examt.'s father

and himself and his two brothers, Konogher Magee and Turlogh Magee, escaped out at the back door, and lay low upon the ground on their bellies for about the space of an hour, until the said Scotchmen were gone away, out of the house, and then they went and lighted some straw to see what was become of the said women and children, and found them all killed and weltering in their blood, and wounded in several places, and all their household goods taken away, so this examinant's father, with his said two brothers and Bryan Buie Magee, who came round to them out of the next house, which was Donnell Magee's, and where the said Scotchmen had killed the said Donnell and about ten persons more the same evening, as the said Bryan Buie related to him, and they went all in that night to Knockfergus, and Colonel Hill not being in the garrison, some Scotchmen took them out at the gate and killed his said father, and two brothers, and Brian Buie Magee that was wounded at Isle Magee the night before, but it pleased God that this examt. outran them and escaped. And being demanded if any are yet living who escaped out of Donnell Magee's house, saith that his son Turlogh, who was wounded that evening, is now living in the Braid near (*illegible*).

his
GEO. RAWDON. BRYAN + MCGHEE.
JAMES TRAILL. mark

LI.

The Examination of ELIZABETH GORMALLY, *of Dooncroe, widow, in the county of Antrim, who being sworn before us, saith,*

That, in the beginning of the rebellion, this examt. lived in the Irish quarter, near to the west port of Carrickfergus, and hearing a great noise, and seeing a great many people passing to and fro upon the walls, came out of her house to know what the matter was, and saw Brian Buie Magee coming from the key-gate, towards the said house; and this examt. further saith that a boy, who was a drummer belonging to the garrison of Carrickfergus, met him the said Bryan in the way, and with a Scotch whinyard gave him a stab under the right breast, and afterwards the said boy gave him another stab in the shoulder, and another stab under the left breast, whereupon he the said Brian ran hastily by this examt.'s door, and against the west corner of the said house, John McOwen met the said Brian, and with a crab-tree cudgel he, the said John Mac-

Owen, had then in his hand, he struck the said Brian Magee two blows upon his head, so that he fell to the ground, and that then the said John MacOwen left him, after which the said Brian Magee was stripped naked, and then one John Nelson came up to him and drew out his sword,and thrust it through the neck of the said Brian Magee, cutting his throat, and the cause of this examt.'s knowledge of this is that she was present in the place and saw it. And further saith not.

Taken before us, May, 1653,

SAM. BONELL.
(*illegible*)

her
ELIZABETH + GORMALLY.
mark

LII.

The Examination or Deposition of TURLOGH MAGEE, *of the parish of Skerry, county of Antrim, aged thirty-eight years, or thereabouts, taken before us, this 6th of May*, 1653,

Who saith, that this examinant, in the beginning of the rebellion, was in Colonel (*illegible*) troop; and having a license from his officer to fetch a (*illegible*) horse from the Island Magee, where he then lived, in the time of his being at home, he was surprised in his house by several of the Scots, amongst whom this deponent saw and knew Robert Boyd, Hugh Porter, now living about Larne, also James Brown and William Gillis of Ballylunford, in Island Magee, at which time this examt. received seven wounds, that is to say, from Robert Boyd four wounds in his right hand, and a blow and a stab and into his thighs, two stabs with a half pike, and at that time Daniel Magee, father to this deponent, and Finnuola McGannon, *alias* Magee, mother to this deponent, were both killed; also three of this examt.'s brothers—namely, Phelim Magee, Hugh Magee, and Henry Magee, by the persons aforesaid, and those that were with them, and Bryan Magee, also brother to this examt., had a stab in the breast and a cut in the head, and going to Carrickfergus the next day died there. And further, this deponent saith, that Patrick Magee, his brother, and Mave Magee, his sister, with her five children, and two children of the aforesaid Brian, were then murdered in the said house, and likewise Joan Malroney, the wife of the aforesaid Brian, was wounded in the house and died about a mile from it. And this deponent saith, that the cause of his knowledge of these facts is, that he was present in the place where

they were committed, and saw the persons aforesaid, viz. Robert Boyd, Hugh Porter, James Brown, and William Gillis there at that time, and further saith, that when Hugh Porter came into the house he had a pitchfork in his hand, and with it he stabbed Phelim Magee in his thigh; and as this deponent was going out of the door of the said house, he was met by the above-mentioned William Gillis with a half-pike in his hand, with which he, the said Gillis, struck this deponent, and to the best of his knowledge hit him once in the face, but of that is not certain, some others striking at him at the same time, and further saith that when this examt. was going out at one door to make his escape, he saw James Brown before mentioned coming towards the other door, and further saith not.

his
Taken before me, TURLOGH + MAGEE.
JAMES BONNELL. mark

LIII.

The Examination of BRIAN MAGEE, *of Lerony, in the County Down, aged thirty years or thereabouts, taken* 27*th May*, 1653,

Who, being duly sworn and examined, saith that, having escaped from the massacre which was committed upon several of his friends in Isle Magee, he came towards Carrickfergus with his father, named Owen Magee, and others, and as they were coming in by the gate of Carrickfergus, this examt.'s father related unto him that one John Magragh, who was a dweller without the gate in the Scotch quarters, had invited him to come into his house, and not to go into the town, lest some harm may happen him by reason of the proclamation which had been made for the slaying of all Irish papists, who had gone into rebellion, but this examt.'s father said he would not go into the house, and so they all went together into the said town, and one Captain MacCullogh, met with them, who examined this examt.'s father, wherefore they came into the town, who related to him the whole matter, being for the reason aforesaid, because of the several massacres that were committed near their habitations; upon which the said MacCullogh, being captain of the guard, and some of the soldiers of his company being also present, he, with his said father and the rest were taken away by the said soldiers unto the guard-house, but by whose orders this examt. knoweth not, and having stayed there a while was thrust out of the

town by a multitude of people, where they were all slain, except this examt. and one Patrick Magee, who escaped from them. And being demanded if he knew any of the said people who were thrusting them out of the town as aforesaid, saith he saw some of Captain MacCullogh's soldiers there, and knoweth not any of them by name, except one John MacClure, who was a sergeant of the said Captain MacCullogh's company, and is now a prisoner here in gaol, who was assisting with the rest of the people in putting his father and the rest out of town as aforesaid. And further saith not.

BRIAN + MAGEE.

Taken in presence of us,
GEO. RAWDON.
OWEN WYNN.

Note.

After the words '*thrust out of the town*,' in the original of the above, come the words 'by soldiers and others,' with a light line drawn over them, and after the words '*a Sergeant of the said Captain MacCullogh's company*,' come the words 'who was assisting with the rest,' also having a pen stroke across them, but it will be seen that these crossed out words in no way affect the sense of the rest, or would, if they had been left in, have altered the meaning of the whole.

LIV.

MARY WILSON, duly sworn and examined, saith she was in Isle Magee at the time of the massacre committed upon the Irish there, being left to keep her brother's house who was gone into Scotland. That the night the said murders were committed, a party of Scotchmen, all strangers to this examt., whom she heard were of Lieutenant Lindsay's and Captain Adair's companies, quartering at Ballymoney, brought with them to this examt.'s brother's house, where this examt. then was, four Irishmen, whose names she remembers not, and after drinking a gill with all the said Irishmen, took them out of the house into the field, and there murdered them all, and further saith not.

MARY + WILSON.

Taken before us, this 5th of June, 1653,
JOHN REDING.
OWEN WYNN.

LV.

The Examination of Owen Magee, *of (illegible), in the Isle of Magee, in the county of Antrim, gentleman, aged thirty-three years, or thereabouts, who, being duly sworn before us, the* 31*st May*, 1653,

Saith, that he was not in Island Magee when the murders were committed, neither doth he know anything of the general murder, saving that about eight days after this examt.'s mother, whose name was Janet MacFarlane, was murdered by one Thomas Russell of Balleymonargy, about ten paces distant from the house of John Marshall, as this examt. hath been credibly informed, by Hugh Donaldson and John Kennedy, and that she came to the said Hugh's house that morning and gave him her keys, being in fear of her life, at which time the said Donaldson could scarce save her from the violence and rage of the said Russell. And being demanded what he knoweth of the murders of those persons that escaped from Island Magee to the town of Carrickfergus, saith, that he knoweth not anything, saving that he saw them in the town, and that they and the rest of the Irish were forced to shelter themselves in houses, and that they were taken out and murdered, but how or by whom he cannot declare, and further saith not, only that Andrew Magee of Kilwarlin can speak to the general murders in Island Magee, for the said Andrew was living there, and saw some of the murders committed.

Owen + Magee.

Taken by us,
Roger Lyndon. John Reding.
Rich. Price.

LVI.

The Examination of Richard Kelly, *slater, aged forty years, taken before us*, 31*st of May*, 1653,

Who, being duly sworn and examined, saith, that the next morning after the execrable murder at Island Magee, there came certain persons who had escaped from the murder to Carrickfergus, and being entered the town, they were brought by this deponent, then Corporal, to Captain Henry Johnson, to the (*illegible*) guard, where this examt. did duty as Corporal, and delivered into the charge of the then guard, commanded by the said Captain Johnson, there to continue till further orders, and saith that about three hours after, his

said captain commanded this examt. and a file of musketeers to take them and let them go out at any gate of the town that they would, on which, this examt. going with them to the south water gate, sundry of Captain MacCullogh's soldiers going then along as they alleged to guard those persons out of the said gate, many of the said MacCullogh's company and Captain (*illegible*)'s company, being inhabitants of Isle Magee, stood on the walls and about the said gate, when this examt. let the said persons out of the gate and crying out (*illegible*) '*your muskets charged*,' saying, '*We will kill you before you go far from hence*!' and this examt., hasting back to the guard, heard no more, and in his company went Sergeant Clowny, sergeant to the said Captain MacCullogh's company, who returned to the main guard with this examt. And saith that when in an hour after this deponent and the said sergeant returned (*illegible*), the persons he left without the gate were killed (as was reported) by some of Captain MacCullogh's and Captain (*illegible*) soldiers, and by John Nelson and John Bradfoot (*sic*), both of Carrickfergus, and Scotchmen. And it was further reported that the said Bradfoot's wife, married now to (*illegible*) Strong, of Carrickfergus, stripped one of the said murdered persons, and took what money she could find in their sleeves or jerkins. And saith that the said soldiers of MacCullogh's and (*illegible*)'s would, before any orders came, violently press on the guard to kill the said escaped persons. And since that Bradfoot was since killed about Six-mile Water, as he and others of the Scots were plundering, and that John Nelson is lately fled, suspecting he would be questioned for the said act. And saith that he remembers not the names of those that were murdered, saving Owen Modder Magee. And further cannot depose.

Richard Kelly.

Taken before us,
Roger Lyndon. Sam. Bonnell.
John Reding.

LVII.

The Examination of John McGough, *of Carrickfergus, aged thirty-five years, or thereabouts, taken before us,* 27*th May*, 1653,

Who, being duly sworn and examined, saith that he remembered very well the night of the massacre of the Magees, and other Irish in Isle Magee, in the beginning of the rebellion, and saith that a

little beyond the shutting of the gates of Carrickfergus, that Sunday night, James Brown now a prisoner, his brother Hugh, Lieutenant to Captain MacCullogh in Carrickfergus, with others of the island, came to this examt.'s house (a little before daylight was gone) without the gates, and drank two or three quarts of beer, and tarried there an hour or more; and afterwards, about six or seven o'clock, the said James Brown, who had left his horse at this examt.'s house, rode away with two or three other inhabitants of the island, it being a fair moonshiny night, and the said lieutenant returned into the town. And the next morning early, this examt. being in the street, he saw Owen Magee and two other men with him, one whereof was wounded in the face, and had a bracken in his hand, and to the best of his remembrance it was Brian Buie Magee, and this examt. demanding of him who had hurt him, and why they came in that manner without part of their clothes, they told him that all their people were murdered that night in the island, and that they were coming to the governor to complain, and demanded of this examt. whether their master Colonel Hill was in town, but this examt. told them he was not in town, but wished them to stay in his, this examt.'s house, till he (Col. Hill) did come, and not to venture into the town, because this examt. understood there was a proclamation that all Papists who had gone into rebellion should be killed; which proclamation was made by the Town Clerk the day before; and being demanded whether they did tell him who had committed the massacre in the island, saith he doth not remember that they told him, nor doth he know who it was killed those persons without the gates of the quarter, for they were killed in the Irish quarter, and he lived in the Scotch quarter, but saith that he heard that Owen Magee was killed by one John Bradfoot, who is now dead. And further saith not.

his
JOHN + McGOUGH.
mark

Taken in the presence of
OLVEN WYNN.
GEO. RAWDON.

LVIII.

JOHN HILL, duly sworn and examined, saith that at the time of the massacre in the Isle of Magee, he was in this town of Carrickfergus, and knoweth nothing of the said massacre, other than the common report that this examt.'s uncle, John Willy, and Hugh Boyd, both inhabitants of the Isle of Magee, were, amongst others, actors in

those murders committed on the inhabitants, viz. Tiegue O'Gilmour and most of his family, Patrick McIlderg and most of his family, with other two families. And this examt. further saith, that he heard it generally reported that Robert Glasson killed Tiegue O'Sheile, and being asked what he knew of the murder of Owen Modder Magee, and the other persons that were murdered with him near this town, saith it was the common report that one Broadfoot and John Elson (*sic*) were principal amongst those that killed them. And further saith not.

Sworn before us, this 1st of June, 1653,
OWEN WYNNE.
JOHN REDING.

(*A true copy, examined by* THOS. BINGHAM, *Registrar.*)

LIX.

RICHARD MAGEE, of Crumlin, in the county of Antrim, aged thirty years or thereabouts, saith he lived in Island Magee at the beginning of the rebellion, and was coming from his house to Carrickfergus, and night having overtaken him before he came thither, he was lodged in one William Widder's (*sic*) house, a Scotchman, all the night, being on his way; and about an hour after he had come into the said lodgings, one Gilbert McCamon, constable, came unto the said William Widder's house, who having seen the constable coming he did hide himself from him, as knowing wherefore he was coming; and the said constable having come to the said William Widder's house, he called for the said Widder twice before he answered him, which being done, they both whispered together and went out of doors, and this examt. being standing in the door, the constable seeing him, wished him to tarry within doors, but this examt. removed not, but looked whither they went, who saw them going to William Edmonton's house, and he came also along with them, and from them they went towards John Lader's house (this examt. following them a little way all the time), where they did meet with one Edmund Magee, a constable of the said island, coming towards them on the highway, whom they turned back, being come up to them, and killed him in the sight of this examt., but by which of them he was killed this examt. cannot say, alleging that all of them were

accessory thereto. And being demanded if he never knew or heard of any more murders, he saith that one John MacCamon, of Six Mile Water, related unto him several times, and also Katherine Mac (*illegible*), widow, how that his father, John McCamon the elder, kept one Philip Magee in a great chest, locked, having no other place to put him in, to save him from the Scots thereabouts, by reason he had fled unto them for security, for fear of them, and that the said John MacCamon the elder charged said Philip that if any one came in, and called for him, he should not answer, which he promised he would perform, but presently after, one John (*illegible*), near Carmony, Hugh Leech, near Ballyclare, (*illegible*) unto the said John MacCamon's house, and called for Phil Magee, and said that if they had him they would carry him to his master, Colonel Hill, upon which Philip Magee burst open the chest and came out to them, and they took him out into the field and murdered him there.

Taken 22d April, 1653, RICHD. + MAGEE.
GEO. RAWDON.

LX.

The Examination of WILLIAM GRAHAM, *of Island Magee, husbandman, taken by us, the first day of June*, 1653,

Who deposeth and sayeth, that he, this deponent, upon the Sabbath day, in the evening of that night when the great murder was committed in the Island Magee, having occasion to go to Portdavy, situated at the south-east end of the said island, in his way thither met James Mitchel, and one John Hill, now dead, riding homewards from Portdavy, and the said James Mitchel told this deponent that that very night the Irish, his neighbours of the Island Magee, were to be all murdered by strangers, who came into the island that day. And being demanded what business he had at that time so late and so far from his house, he said, it was to send a friend's daughter into Scotland, and saith that he returned home again about three or four of the clock in the morning. And saith, that in his return he met with about, as he considered, fifty or sixty men on foot, who, being demanded by them who he was, one John Lowther (since deceased), then of Island Magee, and in the said company, answered (for him) that he, examt., was a neighbour, and wished them to let him alone, whereupon this deponent went

forward towards his house, neither meeting any, nor hearing any noise, till he came to his house, where he was told his Irish neighbours were that night slain. And saith that he knoweth not, neither did he hear, who committed these murders. And further saith not.

The mark of William + Graham.

Taken by us,
Sam. Bonnell.
Roger Lyndon.
Geo. (*illegible*).

LXI.

The information of Edward Bell, *taken by me this 5th May*, 1653,

Who sayeth, that Brian Buie Magee and his brother, Hugh Magee, coming with their creaghts to Carrickfergus to be secure about the 8th of January, 1641, coming in through Belaclare, this deponent (*torn*) all that belonged to them into a barn, both men, women, and (*torn*), thinking to secure them against Captain Willy, who is since dead, who came with a party of horsemen to the aforesaid town, and killed, to the number of eighty or ninety persons of the (*torn*) and their followers. All this the deponent is ready to depose before the High Court of Justice or any other Judicatory (*torn*), is called of which party he knoweth none of them save an Ensign Rowan, and John Brown, who were dwellers in the (*torn*) at that time, but he knoweth not where they dwell, and further saith not.

(*Unsigned*)

A recognisance taken before me, Robert (*torn*), for the use of the Parliament of the Commonwealth, (*torn*) the undernamed person, Edmund Bell, bound in the sum of (*illegible*). The condition of the above bounden recognisance is, that Edmund Bell shall make his personal appearance on the 9th of this instant month, at Carrickfergus Town Hall, before the High Court of Justice, and give in what evidence he can on behalf of the Commonwealth of England, against Ensign John Rowan, and not to depart without license.

LXII.

The Examination of William Bayley, *a soldier of Colonel Venables' regiment, taken before us* (*blank*) *this 7th February*, 1653,

Who, being duly sworn and examined, saith, that he this deponent and another soldier of the said regiment, namely, Patrick Kelly, being commanded by order from the Hon. Colonel Venables to go privately into the Isle Magee, and there to inquire for and find out John Weyly, where this examt. and his comrades being come, they went into a widow's house near unto the said Weyly's house, where the widow gave them some milk to drink, and presently after, another woman in the next house seeing this examt. and the other soldiers, she in all haste made towards the said Weyly's house, and this examt. and his fellow-soldier mistrusting that she was to give notice at Weyly's of their being there, this examt. demanded of the widow whither that woman went so fast, and the widow answered that she went to hinder a calf from sucking the cow's milk; which, not satisfying this examt., he still spied after the said woman whither she would go, he then, having the vessel of milk the widow gave him in his hand, and observing that the said woman did pass by the place where the cow and calf were, and hastening forwards to Weyly's house, he suddenly delivered the milk out of his hands to a little boy that was then standing by him, without the said widow's door, taking the said boy's bonnet off his head, and left his hat with the boy, and wishing his fellow soldier to stay there, he, this examt., went to Weyly's house to see if he were at home, and as this deponent made after the woman towards Weyly's house, she gave a great shout; which, as this examt. conceived, was to give notice to the said Weyly to be on his keeping and he, this examt., overtaking and passing her by to hasten on to Weyly's house, he observed the said Weyly on a ladder thatching of a stack of corn in his own barn-yard, who, spying this examt. making haste and outstripping the said woman, he, the said Weyly, hastily went off the said ladder and ran away among the cornstacks, where this examt. not finding him, he inquired of the said Weyly's son and another, who were threshing corn in the barn, where the said John Weyly was; who both together made answer that he was gone to Portdavy, whereupon this examt. demanded where the man was that was on the ladder thatching the cornstack, they replied and said they did not know and then this examt., doubting that the said Weyly had run away into some part

of the field, he presently went to the top of the said Weyly's dwelling-house to look about if he could see him in any way, but did not see him and, looking towards the said widow's house, he, seeing his fellow-soldier coming towards him, called aloud unto him to make haste, who being come, he, this examt., delivered his sword to his fellow-soldier, and took a fowling-piece in his hand, which his said comrade had, and wished his said comrade to go into the house and search for the said Weyly, and that he, this deponent, would stay on the said housetop, lest the said Weyly should escape ; which his comrade Patrick Kelly did, and, taking a candle, searched in all parts of the said Weyly's dwelling-house, and not finding him there, he went into the said barn, and with his sword he thrust into the sheaf-corn near the side wall of the barn, where he, as it afterwards appeared, prickt the said Weyly with his sword in one of his thighs ; who, being wounded, suddenly rose out of the corn and skipped, as the said Patrick Kelly told this examt. into the barn floor ; whereupon the said Patrick wished the said Weyly to go out of the door before him ; and being without the barn door, the said Patrick called to this examt. and wished him to come down from the housetop, for said he, 'I have found the rogue and here he is ;' whereupon this examt. came down from the housetop, and told the said Weyly he should make himself ready to go along with them and after he had shifted his clothes, the said Weyly's wife and others that were in the house, desired that he might that night be kept in the constable's house in Island Magee ; which this examt. and Patrick Kelly refusing to do, they came away from his house towards Bradislands Town, and within less than a musket-shot of the said house they met with one Thomas Eaton riding behind another man on a grey horse, who, demanding of this examt. the reason why they took the said Weyly from his house, 'I do it,' said this examt., 'by virtue of a warrant.' 'Show it to me,' said the said Eaton, whereupon this examt. showed it unto them.

And the same Eaton having read it, he lighted from behind the other man and turned back with this examt. a pretty way, and at parting he promised to be back with them that night at Ballygarry, where the said Weyly was brought, by reason it grew late, and entering into the house of one John MacCallow (*sic*), the said Weyly going in first, there they found many Scotchmen drinking, and they bidding the said Weyly welcome, demanded of him what brought him there then ; he spoke softly unto them, whereupon they became very still and quiet, the said MacCallow beating his hands on his thighs, and

others of them seeming very sad in the room. Which this examt. observing, would have the said MacCallow and another townsman take charge of the said Weyly that night, but they denying to do so, this examt. and his comrade went with him to the constable's house, and the constable being in another house in the town, sent for this examt. and the prisoner, where he took charge of him (after he could not prevail with this examt. that the prisoner should go to his own home in Island Magee that night) until next morning.

And this examt. saith that he was solicited by divers in the town to take money to let the said Weyly go, which he would not yield to, and saith that the aforesaid Thomas Eaton was most earnest, and saith that about twelve of the clock that night, one Patrick Crosson, then constable of Killroot, came to the town and enquired for this examt., and being told that this examt. was at his rest in the barn he caused him to be awaked to speak with him, as by the said Crosson's discourse with this examt. he understood and among other passages he pressed this examt. much to let the prisoner go for a sum of money; unto which at last he seemed to yield, so that he and his comrade might receive ten pounds, but that sum the said Crosson thought too much, and thereupon for that time deferred till the next morning rendering his suit; at which time the said Eaton joined with him in prosecution of that their desires; and in conclusion, the examt. agreed with the said Thomas Eaton to let the prisoner go, he receiving twenty-four shillings and sixpence, which the said Eaton paid unto him; which done, this examt. cocked his fowling-piece, and caused his fellow-soldier to be in readiness to secure the prisoner, and being in that posture he told them that the prisoner must go along with him to his colonel at Carrickfergus, and required the said constable to be aiding unto him in the safe conveyance of the said Weyly to the said colonel. Whereupon the said Crosson and Eaton seemed very much discontented, the said Eaton going away, and the said Crosson not attending his duty, but staying aloof of them behind this examt. and the prisoner, as though unwilling to join in bringing him to Carrickfergus, where coming soon the said prisoner was committed to prison by order of Colonel Venables. And further saith not.

WILLIAM BAYLEY.

Sworn before me, this 7th February, 1653,

ROGER LYNDON.

Note.

The 'Weyly' of this deposition seems to be identical with the Captain 'Willy' of Deposition LXI., and with the 'John Willy,' uncle of the John Hill who made Deposition LVIII. Patrick Kelly, the brother-soldier of Bayley, must have been an Irishman. He made a long and most amusing deposition, relating the attempts of the Scotch in the island to bribe him to allow Weyly to escape. Kilroot, as may be seen by reference to the maps of Antrim, lies to the west of Temple Corran (which skirts the end of the peninsula called Isle Magee) and east of Carrickfergus. Several of the accused were lodged in Carrickfergus gaol and examined, like Gilduffe O'Cahan, as to what they could say in their own defence.

LXIII.

Robert Loder, of Isle Magee, aged twenty-three years or thereabouts, examined saith, that at the beginning of the rebellion, he being in his father's house (John Loder's) and hearing that some Scotchmen were come into the island from about Ballymena, and that they had killed some persons, his said father fearing that Tiegue O'Sheil, Colonel Hill's officer, would be in danger, they went to the said Tiegue's house at nightfall to fetch him away, and secure him, and the said colonel's papers then in his charge, and his said father sent him with William Widder and John Camill towards his own house, and in the way they went into John Marshall's, whither the said Ballinamana men came presently, and wounded the said Tiegue O'Sheale, and left him for dead, and threatened to kill this examt.'s father, who came there meantime, and the said Widders and Camill, for endeavouring to preserve the said Sheile. And this examt. also said he was that night in Ever Magee's house, being in the way between his said father's house and said Sheile's, and a little after his coming to the said house, a number of the said strangers entered the house, and one of them killed the said Ever Magee, and all that were in his house of men, women, and children. And this deponent also saith, that when the said Ever was slain within his house, one that was without the house enquired of them that were within, who it was that did shoot and make such disturbance, and another answered (Thomas Russell), but whether it was he that

killed Ever Magee or not, this examt. is not certain, nor did he know any of that company but one Bannon, who died at Six Mile Water as he heard. And further saith not.

Juratur, 12*th May*, 1653,
Robert Lowther (*sic*).

Taken
Geo. Rawdon.
Rich. Price.
Roger Lyndon.

Note.

Robert Loder, or Lowther, the name is spelt indifferently either way in the MSS., must have been a mere boy when the massacre took place at Island Magee, if he were only twenty-three or twenty-four years old in 1653. According to Any Magill's deposition (No. XLIX.), he was with the murderers when they came into the house of Ever Magee, but she does not say that he actually took part in the murder. It is possible that the boy of twelve may have followed Marshall and the other men from boyish curiosity, but in any case it would have been impossible to deal with him as severely as with the adult criminals. He fell ill in prison, and thence sent in the following petition to the governor of Carrickfergus :—

To the Right Honourable Colonel Arthur Hill.

The humble petition of Robert Lowther most humbly sheweth: That your petitioner hath been fully examined, and upon his Christianity hath declared as much as he either saw or knew, and your petitioner is as yet kept in prison, where it hath pleased the Lord to visit him with sickness, and by the loathsomeness of the said prison he is in danger of his life. Your petitioner therefore most humbly prayeth your honour for the Lord Jesus' sake to take such course for your petitioner's relief that he may be liberated thereby. And were it not for the sadness of his condition, by which he is forced to keep his bed, wanting all manner of accommodation fit for a sick person, your petitioner should be more sparing of troubling your honour so oft. These premises tenderly considered and granted, your petitioner shall ever pray, etc.

He was admitted to bail by the following order from Judge Donellan, President of the High Court :—

13*th May*, 1653.

The Petitioner being very sick in gaol, as I am satisfied he is, I desire the Committee for examinations, or any two of them, to take his recognisance with sufficient sureties for 200*l.* that he shall not leave the town of Carrickfergus until he appear in the High Court of Justice, and answer for such matters as shall be objected unto him on behalf of the Commonwealth, and that he depart not without special license from the said court, which being done, the said Committee is to certify the gaoler thereof, and he thereupon to set him at liberty.

James Donellan, *President.*

John MacAlmond, of Isle Magee, in the county of Antrim, husbandman, and Alexander Campbell of the same, husbandman, do acknowledge to owe unto the keeper of the liberties of the Commonwealth, and to stand jointly and severally unto the sum of 200*l.*, that the said Robert Lowther, now a prisoner, shall personally appear before the High Court of Justice at the gaol delivery to be held for the county Antrim, within four days after notice given him or them, to be left at any of their dwellings, and shall not depart thence without license. That then this recognisance to be void, otherwise to stand and remain in full force and strength.

John + MacAlmond.
Andrew + Campbell.

Taken before us, 14*th May*, 1652,
Edward Conway.
Geo. Rawdon.
Jas. Traill.

LXIV.

The Examination of Captain James Cullogh, *of the Isle Magee, aged fifty or thereabouts, being duly sworn and examined before us, the* 1*st of June*, 1653,

Saith, that at the time of the massacre in the Isle Magee, this examt. was Captain of a foot company in this town (Carrickfergus), in the regiment of Colonel Chichester, and that shortly after the said massacre, one Janet Woodside, wife to Robert Brown, now prisoner in this town, told this examt. that one Robert Glaslyn did kill Tiegue O'Sheil with a shot of a horseman's piece, and that

one commonly called Stag Ferry (*sic*) was at the house of Donnel MacArt and, as she heard, killed his wife. And the examt. being asked what he could tell concerning the murders of Owen Modder Magee, Henry and Brian Magee, near this town, he, this examt. saith, that at the time the said murders were committed he was asleep on his bed, and cannot tell who was the actor in the said murders, otherwise than that he was told that Lieutenant William Dobbyn doth acknowledge himself to have an hand therein, and that he would justyfy the same, for that he did it by order, and this examt. saith that the reason of his knowledge of it is, for that one John MacCluny, who was then Corporal to this examt., told him so, and further saith not.

JAMES MACCULLOGH (*sic*).

Taken by us,

OWEN WYNNE. JOHN REDING.

LXV.

The Examination and Confession of ROBERT BOYD, *prisoner in Carrickfergus, May 4th,* 1653.

Who saith, that in the beginning of the rebellion he lived in Glenarm, and that he was never under any command as a soldier, saving that about a quarter of a year in the beginning of the war he, the said Robert Boyd, with many others of the inhabitants of the country, gathered together under the command of Captain Agnew, and were drawn into the town of Larne, where they built a fort and lay for the space of eight weeks, and being demanded whether he or any of them were commanded by this said captain to do any service upon the Irish, said that he was not, nor did he do anything upon them voluntarily, but stayed in Larne, as aforesaid, eight weeks and afterwards went to Scotland. And being asked whether he had heard or known of any of the inhabitants of that country, that is to say the barony of Glenarm and Isle of Magee, that were killed in the beginning of the rebellion, answered that he had heard of some Scots that were killed in Mackerymourne, and some Irish people in Island Magee, but that he knew them not, nor by whom they or any of them were killed. And being further asked whether he was not in Island Magee during the time of his being a soldier at Larne, saith he was not, and that the murders

committed there was before his coming to Larne. And being then asked how he knew when the said murder was committed, saith that he heard of it. And further being demanded, whether he ever knew Phelim Magee, Hugh Magee, Henry Magee, Brian and Mave Magee of Island Magee, or any of them, answered that he never knew any of them, and being further asked whether he had ever heard or known that they were killed, answered that he knew not how they were killed, but had heard of it, but by whom they were killed he knows not. being that night in Belgooly Castle.

(*Unsigned copy.*)

Note.

Appended to the above deposition is the following certificate :—

'We do hereby certify that after this examination was taken the informers declared that this examinant was not the person they had accused, neither do they know where the accused person now is.'

(*Signatures illegible.*)

John MacOwen, a soldier in Captain MacCullogh's company, imprisoned and examined, said that 'he was on guard at the west gate of Carrickfergus when the Magees fled there from the Island, but that he did not see Brian Buie Magee slain, but saw his body about ten days after.' Being further questioned, MacOwen said he saw the body two days after the murder, and finally he confessed he was present when it was committed, and that he struck Brian Buie Magee with a gunstock. The records of the High Court at Carrickfergus not being discoverable, we have no means of ascertaining the fate of the prisoners, but it is probable that most of them were hung or transported to Barbadoes with the Irish who had committed similar crimes. For some weeks after the Portnaw and Island Magee massacres, the Scotch and Irish continued to wage war on one another with great ferocity all over the district adjoining Portmagee, murdering and plundering by night and day.

LXVI.

The Examination of Donell MacGillmartin, *of the Newry, in the county of Down, fowler, aged thirty-five years or thereabouts, who being duly sworn and examined before us, on the* 31*st of May,* 1653,

Saith, that John Garvin of Temple-Patrick in the county of Antrim, then Lieutenant to Captain Henry Upton, having the command of the watch in that garrison, at or about the latter end of January next after the beginning of the rebellion, gave directions unto the then Corporal of that guard, that he should be very careful of the watch that night, of which number this examt. was then one of the soldiers, and the said Lieutenant told the Corporal that he would go the grand round with some of the soldiers, and that he would go as far as Rickamore, which was a mile distant from the garrison, which he did and returned not back until the next morning, which was the sabbath day, and then he, this examt., saw divers of that party which went forth with Lieutenant Garvin bring into the town with them many brackens, coats, shirts, smocks, and other apparel. And that hereupon this examt. ran to his Sergeant, whose name was (*illegible*), and told him that he had seen his (the examt.'s) mother's bracken in the hands of the soldiers, and asked him what he should do, whereupon the Sergeant bade him go into the house of Jasper Gorwyn, then constable, since dead, and secure himself, which this examt. accordingly did, and called his brother, also then a soldier, unto him, and thereupon Captain Upton, having notice, sent for this examt. and his uncle and brother to the Castle, where they were kept in safety for the space of three days, and told them he would use his endeavours to send them to Belfast or Carrickfergus for their future safety, which was accordingly done.

And further saith, that as he, this examt., his brother and his uncle, were passing on their way towards Belfast, their Captain being with them to convey them safely from the rage and violence of the Scots thereabouts, part of their way they saw the corpses of several persons to the number of twenty-five, who were slain, as he heard it reported, by the said John Garvin, his Lieutenant, and the party commanded by him, and Lieutenant Lindsay with some of his brother's troopers. And this examt. being demanded whether he knew any of those corpses, saith that he knew most of them, and that Henry McCarry, Rory McCarry, Katherine ny Stoghe

Donnogh McCarry, Katherine Oge ny Carry, Finoole ny Quin, Mave ny Guire, Dorothy ny Nogher, Brian O'Boylan, Any ny Kissane, were all murdered there, and that he saw the corpse of his father-in-law lying upon the fire, which this examt. removed, also the corpse of his mother, with his brother, covered with straw. And examt. saith that the name of the place where these persons were murdered is called Ballymartin, about a quarter of a mile distant from Rickamore aforesaid, whither his Lieutenant said he would go with his men, and further saith not.

his
DONELL + MCILLMARTIN.
mark

Taken by us,
OWEN WYNNE.
ROGER LYNDON.
JOHN REDING.
SAM. BONNELL.
(*illegible*).

LXVII.

The Examination of ANY NY CORRY, *taken before me, 22nd of April*, 1653,

Who, being duly sworn and examined, saith, that in the beginning of the rebellion she, this examt., having forty pounds of money in the hands of her mother, Katheryn ne Stogher, who then lived at Ballymartyn, in the county of Antrim, went from her own dwelling house at Drumgoold, about two miles distant from the said Ballymartyn, and got the said forty pounds from her mother, fearing it might be taken from her, or lest the times being so troublesome, and when she came to her said mother's house, she there found her and this examt.'s four sisters, all things peaceable with them, only they feared both Irish and Scots, when this examt. stayed three or four nights. And this examt. further saith, that her three brothers, by name Rory, Henry, and Owen MacCorry, were then soldiers in the foot company of Captain Upton, to which John Garvan was Lieutenant, and saith that about three days before Christmas day, to the best of her remembrance, the said Lieutenant took their arms from the said Rory and Henry McCorry, and put them out of the company, for what cause she knoweth not, and bade them go home to their ploughing, and follow their husbandry, which they did accordingly, and about midnight the same day the

said Lieutenant Garvan came to Ballymartyn aforesaid, accompanied with about fourscore horse and foot, whose names she knoweth not, save Robert Miller and the Crawfords, but the rest are most of them neighbours living thereabouts; who went into the house of her said mother and brother, and the rest of the houses of the town, and then having lighted (*i.e.* alighted) with their swords and pikes killed both men, women, and children, in number about twenty-six, whereof the said Rory O'Corry was one, which Rory was killed by the hands of the said Lieutenant, the rest were women and children. And further saith that a little boy, whose mother was a Scotch-woman, came to the said Crawfords and desired them to save his life, for that his mother was Scotch, who made answer that he, the boy, was half Irish, because his father was an Irishman, and therefore did kill him, and so fell on him and killed him. This examt.'s cause of knowledge is, for that by God's providence she, together with Conogher O'Quin and his wife, who now lives with (*illegible*) Perrott, made an escape and stayed in a little brake near at hand, when she heard and saw, the night being a clear, moonshiny night, what she hath deposed, and further saith that the same night most of all the Irish neighbours who were within three miles, about nearly three hundred men, women, and children, were killed by the said Lieutenant Garvan and his party. And further saith, that one William Magogan, whose father was then killed with an axe, can depose to the same purpose, which William now lieth about Captain Langford's at Kil (*illegible*). And further saith not.

Any + ny Corry.

Jurat.
George Rawdon.

LXVIII.

The Examination of Alice, Countess-Dowager of Antrim, *taken at Coleraine, 9th Feb.*, 1652, *before Richard Brasier, Esq., Mayor of Coleraine, and Colonel Thomas Coote, Governor of Coleraine, Commissioner for the administration of justice, and Justice of Peace, within the province of Ulster,*

Who being examined saith, that she dwelt in the house of Ballycastle at the beginning of the Irish insurrection, which house was part of her jointure left her by her late husband, the Earl of Antrim, and that she continued in the same house until the Scottish army sent unto Ireland, under the command of General Major

Robert Monro, marched into the Route, which was about three weeks in May, in the year 1642. And being demanded why she left Ballycastle house, her own jointure house, when the Scotch army came into the Route, she said because she could not keep it from her enemies. And being demanded who those enemies were, she said Monro and the Scotch army, who were marching from Carrickfergus, and had almost catched her before she was well over the Bann. And being demanded upon what ground she imagined the Scotch army to be her enemies, her answer thereunto was, because the said army took her son Randal, Earl of Antrim, prisoner, out of his own house at Dunluce. But being told that that would be no reason for her to leave her house and flee over the Bann, because that said son was not taken prisoner until three days after she left her said house and fled over the Bann, she then answered, that the Scotch army coming on one side by land, and MacCailin's army by sea from the Ragheries, who were always enemies to the MacDonnels, she fled for her life over the Bann as aforesaid. And the said examt. being further demanded why she did not as well take the Irish Highlanders who murdered the British at Portnaw, and who came over the Bann and burnt all the country, and murdered man, woman, and child, of the British, all along in their march from Portnaw unto Ballintoy, and besieged the house of Ballintoy, her enemies, as well as the said Scotch army and MacCailin's men, to which she answered that she could not keep or maintain her house, and so went away. But being several times told that that answer was not pertinent to the question, she then, at last, answered, that if she were to be hanged she could not answer the said question any otherwise.

And the said examt. being likewise demanded whether William Glover, with several of the British inhabitants of the town of Ballycastle, the next morning after the murder at Portnaw, did not offer to come into the said house at Ballycastle to make that house a shelter to protect them from the Irish murderers, and whether some of them, namely, James Stuart and Thomas Stuart, did not enter the house, and whether her Ladyship's servants, to wit, Edmund O'Hagan and Shane O'Hagan, came not upon those that entered the house with drawn swords, her Ladyship and her daughter the Lady Sarah being present, and forced them outside the gates, she said she did not hear of the murder at Portnaw until a long time after it was committed, and that she never saw or heard that the said William Glover or any others entered that house, or

were ever repulsed by her or any of her servants. And her Ladyship being further demanded whether she and her servants refused not to suffer any of the British inhabitants of the town of Ballycastle, or the country thereabouts, to enter into the house of Ballycastle, for the safety of their lives, she answered that she and her servants never refused to let any enter for shelter. And being further demanded what British her Ladyship did save and defend in her house; she answered that her house was full of Irish, Scotch, and English, of whom she remembered none but an English tuck miller, whose name she knows not, who was father-in-law to Edmund O'Hagan, her Ladyship's servant, and Coaltagh (*sic*), and one John Hunter, carpenter, his wife and their children, as she thinks. And her ladyship being told that not only the English tuck miller, Anthony Knowles by name, and the said John Hunter, carpenter, with his wife and children, but likewise John Murglan, smith, Alexander Beg Stewart, miller at her Ladyship's own mill, and John Kidd, mason, were protected by her Ladyship and servants, not so much out of any good intention in preserving their lives, as out of particular respects, viz.: Anthony Knowles for his O'Hagan relations aforesaid, John Hunter and the rest because they were tradesmen, and so necessary that her Ladyship and the rest could not be without them; whereas many others, not so necessary to be preserved for their purpose, were driven from the Castle gates, if not out of the very house and bawn, and barbarously murdered under the very walls of the Castle and in and about the town. To which question her Ladyship answered, that she did not know of any that were there murdered, or if they were, she was no soldier to go out and defend them. And her Ladyship being further demanded if she knew one Janet Speir, wife unto John Speir, smith, to which she answered she had some little knowledge of the same Janet. And being asked whether the said Janet did not come unto the Castle, and prayed her Ladyship to save her life, and whether she did not at the same time hold her Ladyship by the skirt of her gown, and whether her Ladyship did not order the '*Carlin should be taken away*,' from her, and whether, according to her Ladyship's commands, was not the same Janet taken away and murdered; unto which her Ladyship answered, that she knows not that the said Janet ever came unto the said house, or that she ever spake to her, or took her by the skirt of her gown, or gave any commands concerning her, but she said that long after the said Janet was murdered, she had heard of it, and that she was killed behind her own stable, but by

whom she knows not. And being demanded whether she knew one Thomas Robinson, who was murdered either the same day or the day before Janet Speir was killed, and at or near the same place, she saith she knew no such man, or that any such man was there murdered. And being demanded whether her Ladyship did owe the said Janet Speir 20*l.* or 30*l.*, or any money, she answered, in all her life she never did owe her one penny, but that the said Janet Speir did owe her 15*l.* And being further demanded whether her Ladyship knew Margaret Moneypenny, wife unto Andrew Closeburne, Lord of Traiton, and whether the said Margaret came unto Ballycastle house, desiring shelter and protection under her Ladyship's roof, or within her walls, and was refused safeguard for her life by her Ladyship, or those belonging to her, upon which refusal was she not afterwards murdered, to which her Ladyship answered that she never knew the said Margaret, neither did ever hear that any such woman was murdered.

And her Ladyship being demanded if she heard of the defeat which Alaster MacColl and other Irish gave unto the British in the Layney, beyond Ballymoney, said she heard of that defeat, but how soon after or by whom she knows not. And her Ladyship being likewise demanded whether she did receive a letter from Sir James MacDonnell, Alaster MacColl MacDonnell, James MacHenry O'Cahane, and James MacSuorly, upon Saturday, the next day after the defeat given in the Layney, dated from Ballymoney; wherein they certified her Ladyship that they her servants had obtained a victory the day before, since called 'Black Friday,' against her Ladyship's and their enemies, wishing her to make her liquor a little stronger than the last she gave them was, or they would no longer be her servants, to which her Ladyship answered that she never knew or received any such letter. And further she saith not.

Thomas Coote.
Richd. Brasier, *Mayor.*

Note.

The deponent seems to have been Alice or Ellish, widow of Randal MacDonnell, first Earl of Antrim (*v. ante*, p. 17), sister of Hugh, last Earl of Tyrone, and mother of the first Marquis of Antrim. According to Lodge, she was living in 1663, and then eighty years of age. The *MacCailin* whose arrival she professed to expect and dread was *MacCailin Mor*, the Earl of Argyle. Her

daughter, Lady Sarah, who is mentioned in this deposition, married first Neil Oge O'Neil of Killeleagh; secondly, Sir Charles O'Connor Sligo; and thirdly, Donnell MacCarthy Mor of Mucruss and Pallace, near Killarney, by whom she was ancestress of Charles MacCarthy Mor, owner of those two estates in 1770, when he died unmarried, an officer in the Guards, and bequeathed them to his mother's father, Mr. Herbert of Kilcow, county Kerry.

LXIX.

The Examination of Janet Servit, *alias* Hunter, *alias* Campbell, *the wife of John Campbell of Ballycastle, in the county Antrim, taken before us the day and year above mentioned,*

Who, being duly sworn and examined, saith, that about the 5th or 6th of January, 1641, being soon after the murders at Portnaw, the Countess of Antrim took this examt. and her then husband, John Hunter, joiner, her old servant, into her castle of Ballycastle to save their lives. And about twenty days thereafter, on a Sunday, one Thomas Robinson was murdered close by the brewhouse, near the house at Ballycastle, by one Ferdorough Mackay and Patrick MacAghie, and that one Janet Speir, who the same Sunday went through the house at Ballycastle, was the same day murdered by one Dwaltagh McAllister, who, as this examt. heard, was afterwards slain in Scotland, and that he got an eleven mark piece out of her stockings, which Janet was slain on the back of the stable, near the castle wall. And this examt. further saith, that she saw the said Dwaltagh McAllister, with divers others, not long before the said murder committed by him, going into and out of the said Countess of Antrim's house at Ballycastle. And this examt. further saith, that about a pistol shot from the said house she saw three old women lying dead, but who killed them she doth not know. And further saith not.

Thomas Coote.
Richd. Brasier, *Mayor.*

LXX.

Any Mackelynan of Lecale, aged about thirty years, sworn and examined, deposeth, that in the second year of the rebellion Captain Wall and his soldiers went and brought from about New-

castle and the strand of Dundra, Thomas Oge Rister, Patrick Mackelynan, Richard MacDyne, Patrick Mackelery, who hath left Lecale a year before for fear of their lives, she being the wife of the said Thomas Oge Rister, and of kindred to the rest. And she further saith, that the said four men were set at work to cut sea wrack, which they accordingly did. And that one sabbath day in the morning they were all killed. And she saith they were killed by Captain Wall's soldiers, but she knoweth not particularly the soldiers' names. But that Edward Jackson, one of the said soldiers, came into this examt.'s husband's house, and gave him the first stroke, and that her husband broke out of his house, and ran about the castle, the said Jackson following him. And this examt. saith she saw Captain Wall on the top of the said castle, commanding the said Jackson to kill her husband, using those words 'Strike! strike!' And she saith that Captain Wall took three cows from the aforesaid four men when they were brought in.

ANY MACKELYNAN. +

Jurat. 7th May, 1653,
G. BLUNDELL.
J. TRAILL.

Note.

CAPTAIN WALL stated in his defence respecting the before mentioned murders that being in command under Major Veitch at Ardglass, he was solicited to allow six or eight Irishmen into that garrison town under protection, but that he refused to admit them until he received orders from the major to do so; that 'nevertheless the Irish kept going and coming to and from the town into the country parts possessed by the rebels,' and that fearing mischief he then 'ordered his soldiers to go into the town and to kill all idle and loose persons' who could not produce written protections or licences. He denied that he had ever employed any such Irish to cut the sea wrack or do other service as the deponent alleged. The lieutenant of his troop and one of his soldiers swore that he (Wall) had directed them to go into the town and kill all the Irish who had no protection.

LXXI.

JAMES GORDON, duly sworn and examined, saith, that about Christmas next after the rebellion, this examt. living in the town of Bangor, in the Claneboy, his mother told him there were some

in the town two or three times looking for him to speak with him, and that she heard it was to go with them to kill the Irish that lived in and near the town, therefore she advised him to put himself out of the way, and not to have any hand in the business, whereupon this examt. took his bedclothes and went and lodged in his malt kiln, a little distance from Bangor. And this examt. saith, that within a night or two after, most of the town of Bangor and the parish together made a compact with those of Ballydavy about Holywood, as this examt. was informed, to fall in two parties at night upon the neighbouring Irish to kill and plunder them. And this examt. further saith that accordingly they went forth in the night and killed men, women, and children, poor people, labouring men, and their families a great number. His cause of knowledge is that the next morning after the said murder was committed he saw those of the town of Bangor, that had been associated in it, come in with bloody brackens and other goods, cattle, and household stuff; his further cause of knowledge is that there was a collection made through the whole town of Bangor for burying those that were killed, whereof this examt. paid a part, but cannot now remember how much. And further saith that the names of those he saw come from killing the said Irish are these: James MacCullogh, who hears is since dead; William Martin, who he hears has gone to England or Scotland; James Martin, who he hears is in Munster; James Madden, Abraham Frizell, and William Knowde. And further saith not.

JAMES GORDON.

Jurat. 3*d May*, 1653,
GEO. RAWDON.

LXXII.

I do testifie, that about the 23rd of October, 1641, at the beginning of this horrid rebellion, Toole MacCan; Toole McRory MacCan; Art Oge Magennis; Edmund Boy MacGlashnie Magennis; Phelimy Oge Magennis; Ogher O'Hanlon, with divers others of the Irish rebels in their company, came to the town of Loargan, in Clanbrassil, in the county of Armagh, and with fire and sword burnt the town, and murdered several of the Protestant inhabitants, viz. John Davis, Richard Ridsdale, Thomas Ward, Leonard Riggs, Thomas Howber, James Horsley, and several others, and that the said rebels came the next day following, and threatened that except I would deliver up my house, they would put us all to the

sword, men, women, and children, and that if we would surrender, that they would convey us safe to Lisnogarvey, with what goods we could carry with us, and each man to go with his sword and apparel; and we at the time, having no manner of firearms nor ammunition, whereby we might defend ourselves, and having many poor stript men, women, and children within the house, and no way of livelihood, in regard of our sudden surprisal, we consented to deliver the house; which was no sooner done, than they, contrary to their conditions, plundered the house, stripped the people, and in a cruel manner murdered several of them, and I, with my children, was sent in a most sad condition to Armagh, where we remained prisoners, until such time as the English and Protestant army marched to the Newry; upon which I was sent from my wife and children to the prison of Dungannon, and there remained until a party of the English army came to Charlemont, at which time it pleased God to set us at liberty, all which I am ready to aver, as witness my hand, the 26th of February, 1652.

W. Brownlowe.

LXXIII.

James Steile, cooper, of the Grange, near Toome, county Antrim, duly sworn, saith, that upon Saturday, the 23rd of October, 1641, Neil Oge O'Quin, a tenant of Sir Thomas Staples, near Lissan, came unto the town of Lissan, about the sunsetting, with about eighty or a hundred men of his command, and giving out that the Spaniards were coming, seized upon Sir Thomas Staples' house, and that night robbed all the English houses in the town of their goods, but spared the Scotch, giving out that they would not meddle with them. That they made those English they had robbed thresh their corn, and do the rest of their work, the Scots who were their neighbours, and not as then robbed, relieving the English with victuals. That very shortly after, they begun by degrees to plunder and rob the Scots in Lissan of their goods, and after a while took all that they had, and made them their servants or slaves to work for them. That during that time he often did see James McIveagh, a tenant of Sir Thomas Staples, haunting and drinking in Lissan. And that the said Neil Oge O'Quin, and his sons, Owen O'Quin, and Neil O'Quin, with the men commanded by them, took and kept Sir Thomas Staples' lady and children

prisoners in Lissan. And that there being a fight at Garvagh in December, 1641, where the British were routed and killed by the Irish, after the said Neil Oge and his sons returned from that fight, they stripped the English and Scotch in Lissan (whose goods they had formerly taken) of their raiment, and took them out of their houses, making believe they would carry them to a safe place, and after they had carried them short of a quarter of a mile from their houses, the men who were commanded by the said Neile Oge O'Quin murdered them, and that the numbers of those there murdered were about twenty, but their names who were there murdered that this examt. knew and can remember only are James Young, John Armstrong, John Young, Andrew Carter, and his wife and two children. That this examt. fled, and that divers others who then fled and hid themselves in caves, woods, and bushes, were afterwards killed as they were found and that divers British who were employed by the Irish—for at that time the Irish would none of them labour or work—were, after their threshing and labouring was done, murdered by them.

That this examt. was a cowherd to one Owen O'Camill, a soldier of the said Neil Oge O'Quin's, who, because a cow of his was accidentally drowned, would have killed this examt. had he not fled and escaped unto a priest, called O'Donnelly, who saved his life, to cut wood, make fires, and keep his cows, for about a year and a half, until the Scotch army, at a certain time, passed over the Bann, when this examt. escaped unto the Scots. And this examt. further saith, that he hath often heard the Irish say that the said James McVeagh run Andrew Young through with his sword, by his own fireside, in the said Andrew's house, and killed him. And also this examt. saith, that his father James Steil, and his mother, and his five sisters, and his brother, together with three Englishmen and many more, to the number of three score, were at several times murdered about Lissan, by some of the Irish, whom he believed to be Neil Oge O'Quin's men, for that he had chief command about Lissan. And this examt. saith that the Irish saved few or none alive of the British, but carpenters, smiths, and forgemen of Sir Thomas Staples' ironworks, and such artificers as could do them service. And further he saith not.

14*th March*, 1652,

Thomas Coote.

Richd. Brasier, *Mayor*.

LXXIV.

Jane Erwin declareth as followeth, upon her oath, taken before me the 21st day of June, 1653, that about the month of April, 1642, Edmund O'Corr, with three other men, whose names she knows not, came to her house, and took her, with four children, to the river side, and bound herself with her neck and hands together, and then took two of her daughters, and threw them into the river, and there killed one of them with pikes and skeans in the water, and then took the examt., with the remainder of her children, to the place where first they found her, being at Ballyluggan in the county of Tyrone. Further the said Jane saith, that Patrick O'Corr, with divers other men, came to her the next morning, and compelled her to go with them, and tell them where her husband's money was, and if she did not, said they would deal with her as they had dealt with her daughter.

Further the said Jane saith, she told this Patrick O'Corr she heard that her husband's brother had 20*l.* of his money, and threw it into a ditch, the which ditch she shewed him, but could not find the money; whereupon the said Patrick O'Corr threw her into a hole full of water, out of which turf had been taken, and with staves thrust her to and fro in the water, and there left her. And further saith not.

Jane Erwin, her mark +.

Sworn by the said
Jane Erwin before me
the day and year above
named,
Roger Lyndon.

LXXV.

The Examination of Margaret Phillis (*the wife of Thomas Phillis, late of Kilmore, in the county of Armagh, linen weaver, who was slain by the rebels*), *who,*

Sworn and examined, saith and deposeth, that about the beginning of the present rebellion, her said husband and she were by the rebels despoiled, robbed, and bereft at Kilmore aforesaid, of their goods and chattels, consisting of cattle, horses, mares, household stuff, and other things, amounting in all to one hundred and fifty pounds. And there was also due and owing unto them several sums,

for which they had bonds and securities, but how much they amounted to this examt. cannot tell, for the aforesaid bonds and securities were all burned by the rebels in her own sight. And further saith, that some of the rebels forcibly carried away her husband, out of her sight, and, as she hath been credibly told and hath too great cause to believe, they murdered him. And the rebels also murdered in this deponent's sight one John Phillis, her father-in-law, and one Edward Moore, and they also murdered James Pownall, Thomas Downall, Ralph Clayton, Gregory Jackson, Hugh More, and his son, all English Protestants. And they also killed one Mr. Robinson, the minister of the parish of Kilmore and his wife, and three of his children. And further saith, that the rebels also first half-hanged, and then cut off the ears of James Gibson, to make him confess his money, and the day following they murdered him and one James Orton, Thomas Edmonds, and John Edmonds, all Protestants, and divers others.

And those cruel and merciless rebels forced and drove into a thatched house, like sheep, a great company of Protestants, whom they had formerly robbed and stripped naked, and then and there set the house on fire, and grievously burnt all those poor Protestants, saving only two of them, viz. Agnes Smith, and Margaret, her daughter, who secretly crept out of a hole from the fire, but at their coming out of the house, they were both knocked on the head to the ground, and there left in the snow for dead. Yet afterwards, whilst the rebels were busied in burning the rest of the house, it pleased God to give them the strength to rise and escape away with their lives, as the said Agnes Smith has divers times since told this deponent.

And further saith also that, although the Protestants were strong and very many within the parish of Kilmore aforesaid, the said parish being full planted with families of them, and as she is persuaded, eight miles square, yet very few indeed, as she thinketh not twenty, of these Protestants of that parish escaped the merciless hands of the rebels. But all the rest, being a great multitude, were all murdered, and put to death, some by burning, some by drowning, some by hanging, some by famishing or starving, some by the sword, torture, or other cruel deaths.

her
MARGARET PHILLIS +
mark

Jurat. 15*th March*, 1642,
WILLIAM ALDRICH.
HEN. BRERETON.

LXXVI.

Anne Smith, *wife of Robert Smith, late of* (illegible), *in the parish of Kilmore, county of Armagh, tailor; and* Margaret, *the wife of John Clark, of Annatlea, in the parish and county of Armagh,*

Sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, that they have read and considered of the deposition of Margaret Phillis, the wife of Thomas Phillis, taken before His Majesty's Commissioners, the 15th day of this instant March, 1642, and say that the same is in all things true of their own knowledge, saving that they cannot so truly speak of her losses as she doth, and yet they are persuaded that the expression of her losses is true.

And these deponents, for further explanation of the truth, say that they, these deponents, were two of the English and Scotch Protestants that were all forced and driven together into a thatched house belonging to this deponent, Anne Smith, in (*illegible*), aforesaid, and when the rebels had filled that house full of Protestants, then they, the rebels, set it on fire in several parts thereof. Whereupon these deponents, and about ten more of the said Protestants, fell upon their knees, and with tears prayed one Jane Hampson, the wife of Henry Hampson, of Logarcurry, who was the most forward and cruel rebel amongst them, that she would let them come out of the fire, and rather knock them on the head than burn them. But the said Jane Hampson, being resolved to destroy them that way, said she would be a blacksmith amongst them, and denied to suffer them to come out of the house. But she, having a pitchfork, and the other rebels other weapons, made fast the door on the outside, and burned the house and all the Protestants therein, who indeed filled the house, saving only these deponents, who, breaking through a hole in the wall, and coming through that same out of the house, some of the rebels threw a great stone at this deponent, Margaret, whereat she fell down to the ground, and some of them knocked this deponent, Anne, on the head, and she thereby falling to the ground, the rebels, busied with burning the house and the rest of the Protestants, left these deponents there lying on the ground for dead, yet God Almighty gave them the opportunity and ability to escape. But all the rest were burnt to ashes, being a house full of poor innocent souls, but the certain number of them this deponent doth not know. Howbeit the Pro-

testants that they knew were then and there burned were those that follow, viz. Richard Jenney; Frances, the wife of Nicholas Wood, and one of her children, about eight weeks old; Elizabeth, the wife of James Shipley; Alice Butterwick, wife of Isaac Butterwick, and two of her children, besides one unborn, she being great with child; Ralph Hill, and his wife. But the rest were such strangers of English and Scotch as the rebels had driven and brought into the town that night and the day before, such as these deponents cannot name. And further say, that when any of the Protestants endeavoured to escape and come out of the fire, the barbarous and cruel rebels knocked them on the head or wounded them with their pikes, pitchforks, or other things, and thrust and forced them back into the fire again, by which they were all consumed as aforesaid.

And further these deponents say, that the rebels did increase their cruelties aforesaid about the time their army had an overthrow at Lisnogarvy, for after that the rebels spared neither Protestant nor Papist, so they were English and Scottish. And of these deponents' own knowledge, the rebels about that time murdered one Hugh Clarke; Richard Rutter; the wife of William Blundell, and six of her children; Mary Smith, and six children; Euphame Clark, widow, and one child; Elizabeth, the wife of Michael Smith; one old woman called Goody Bere; and a young woman and her child; and John Hale, Thomas Orton, and many others, whom these deponents cannot name. Insomuch that there escaped but very few, either English or Scotch, in all the country thereabouts; for the inhuman and barbarous rebels spared neither little children, nor sex, nor those of any age whatsoever, but some they put to death by hanging, some by drowning in the ditches, and rivers, and bog-holes, some by burning, the rest by the sword, starving, famishing, torturing, and other cruel deaths. And these deponents had several of their friends, neighbours, and acquaintances drowned at the bridge of Portadown, to the number of 150 at one time, so as indeed all the full and fair plantations of Protestants in that country thereabouts were quite depopulated and destroyed. And this deponent, Margaret, in the beginning of the war, heard some of the rebels say, that Sir Phelim O'Neil would have all the land in Ireland northwards to himself. And she further saith, that since the rebellion began, and by means thereof, her husband and she were deprived, robbed, and spoiled of their corn, cattle, horses and mares, sheep, hay, household stuff, ready money, apparel, and other things,

to the amount of 103*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* And this deponent, Anne Smith, saith that at the time the rebels burned her husband to death, they robbed and deprived him and her of the possession of their house, garden, household stuff, provisions, apparel, and other things, worth (*illegible*) or thereabouts.

ANNE SMITH +
MARGARET CLARK +

Jurat. 16*th March*, 1642,
Coram nobis,
HEN. BRERETON.
WM. ALDRICH.

LXXVII.

The Examination of JOAN, *relict of* GABRIEL CONSTABLE, *late of Drumadda, in the county of Armagh, gent.*

This examt., duly sworn and examined, saith that since the beginning of the present rebellion, that is to say, about the 4th of November, 1641, this deponent's husband and she were at Drummadda, aforesaid, and at Keady, in the county of Tyrone, and at (*illegible*), in the county of Monaghan, by force and arms, deprived, robbed, or otherwise despoiled, of their goods and chattels, consisting of beasts, cattle, horses, mares, household goods, and ready money, apparel, corn, the profits of their farms and other things, all worth 155*l.* sterling, by the great rebel, Sir Phelim O'Neil, of Kinard, Knt.; Colonel Manus O'Cane, of the parish of Armagh; Phelim O'Hanlon, of the said parish, farmer; Donell O'Hanlon, of the said parish, farmer; George Fleming, of the said parish, captain of the rebels, who forcibly seized on and usurped this deponent's house; Patrick Mor O'Hagan, of the parish of Kilmore, Esq., who then and there also murdered this deponent's husband, above mentioned, and his mother, and brother, and many more, and further saith, that about Candlemas, 1641, a great number of Protestants were, by the means and instigation of one Jane Hampton, otherwise Hampson, formerly a Protestant, but a mere Irish woman, and lately turned to Mass, and of divers her assistants and confederates, forced and thrust into a thatched house, within the parish of Kilmore, aforesaid, and then and there, the Protestants being almost naked, only covered in part with rags formerly deserted by the Irish in the fields, the same house by that cruel virago, Jane Hampson, and her barbarous assistants, was set on fire in several parts thereof; the poor im-

prisoned Protestants, being by armed parties kept in the house, were miserably and barbarously burned to death, and at length the house fell in on them, and the combustible part of the house being consumed before, the bodies of all the miserable wretches in it were burned to ashes, the bodies of many of them lay there in holes, and were partly burnt and partly unburnt, to the great grief, horror, and amazement of the after Protestant beholders; three only of the Protestants breaking through a hole in the wall of the house, viz. Anne Smith, and Margaret Clarke, who afterwards fled to Dublin, and a little boy, who was extremely scorched, called John Woods, only escaping from the fire. Howbeit the said Woods did quickly recover of that burning he had. And those that attempted to escape the flames were then and there forced and thrown back into it again, and so burned to death. And further saith, that amongst the rest of the Protestants that were burned, as aforesaid, there were (*illegible*) Protestants whom this deponent did know, viz. Alice Throwe, her child, and her husband; James Gi (*illegible*), and his wife, and three children; the wife of Isaac Woods, and her two children; and two old women that were spinsters, one was called Jane; two children of Widow Goodall's; John Martin, James Metcalfe, and Mary Metcalfe; but the rest of the Protestants then and there burned she cannot name. And saith that the outcry, lamentations, and shriekings of those poor murdered persons were exceeding loud and pitiful, yet did nothing prevail, nor mollify the hardened hearts of their murderers. But they most boldly made brag thereof, and took pride and glory in imitating their cries, and in telling this deponent and her husband how the little children gaped when the fire began to burn them, and they threatened this deponent that before long she and the rest of the Protestants that were left should suffer the like torture. Howbeit, for this deponent's own part, the great God opened her a way by which she escaped.

And further saith, that the rebels in the county of Armagh, betwixt the time of the beginning of the rebellion and her escape from imprisonment out of the said county, did commit divers other bloody, barbarous, and devilish murders, and great cruelties upon the Protestants in that county by fire, drowning, hanging, the sword, starving, and other fearful dealings. And in particular, they drowned at one time at the bridge of Portadown 156 Protestants, as the rebels Patrick O'Develin, Donell O'Hallagan, and George Fleming, who did drive the Protestants there, and had a hand in

those dealings, and divers other rebels, told this deponent. And the said Patrick O'Develin also told this deponent that he himself and others burnt a house, and some people therein, betwixt Portadown and Lisnagarvy. And that he stabbed with a skean to the heart the wife of one James Powel, he having first beaten out her brains, and that he left her child alive lying by her.

And further saith, that about the time that the Newry was taken and won again from the rebels, they, ranging up and down like merciless wolves, did most barbarously drown at one time in the Blackwater, betwixt (*illegible*) and Kinard, three score British women and children, their respective husbands and fathers, and all their male friends that were grown men, being murdered before. And that amongst other horrible cruelties and most lamentable these devilish rebels did at another time in the same water, was to drown Mrs. Maxwell, the wife of Mr. James Maxwell, when she was in childbirth. . . . some of the rebels, viz. Patrick Moyre O'Laffan (*sic*), Turlogh Curr, Shane O'Hanlon, and divers others, told and bragged to her, this deponent, that the young child appeared and moved in the water where the poor mother was so drowned. And this the rebels also reporting in the presence of one O'Corr, a dignitary priest, he in this deponent's hearing said that without doubt that child cried for vengeance against them, and that corn or grass would not grow nor anything prosper where they did any of those bloody acts.

And also saith, that the bloody sept of the O'Hughs, the rebels of the county of Tyrone, murdered in three houses, two of them in Kinard, and the third near it, in one night those Protestants following: John Price and his wife, and their two children; a girl escaped with her life, but was sore wounded; Sir Phelim O'Neale's own nurse, her husband, and one child; Henry Brasse and his wife, and three children; Mr. Potter and his wife, and Joan Brian, their servant; and as Cormack Hugh told her, this deponent, the said Cormack Hugh pulled one of the said Mr. Potter's children from under a bed where it had crept, and that he knocked out its brains against the wall, saying he did it because he would have none of the English breed left. And the rebels also slew the same night John Wing and his wife; John Wyly and his wife; Jane Armstrong and two children; Jane Colte and two children; the rebels having hanged the father before that time. And they half killed one Ellen Millington, and then put her into a deep dry hole, made for a well, and made her fast in with stones, where she languished and

died; the rebels bragging how they went to see her, and laughed to see her kick and toss in that hole, her husband having been foully murdered by the rebels. And the rebels also murdered one William Ball, and William (*illegible*) and his wife at Kinard aforesaid. The rebels Cormack Hugh, Shane Hamwell, and Turlogh Hamwell, and Rory O'Hugh, who had been the deponent's former tenants, forbidding her, this deponent, to come to Kinard, for fear she would be presently destroyed; for the very night before they had killed so many Protestants, that they said she might go above the soles of her shoes in blood there.

And further saith, that whereas the rebels had done and committed all these outrages and cruelties aforesaid, and many others that this deponent credibly heard of, and that this deponent's husband, and all her kindred and friends, saving one only sister, and herself, and three children, were slain and murdered; the said Captain George Fleming, for 8*l.* which this deponent hath hid and kept secret, and which she gave him for a safe convoy, did earnestly promise that she, and her sister and children, should be safely conveyed from thence to Dundalk. But he most perfidiously, when he hath received the money, sent them from the parsonage of Kilmore, the place of their imprisonment, about a quarter of a mile, and then he and his soldiers stripped them of their clothes, and carried this deponent's sister quite away, saying he would drown her because she could speak Irish, and would discover their acts, wants, and words if they suffered her to live and then and there left this deponent and her children stript in the field, in cold, snowy weather; from whence they strayed to one Mrs. Dunn's, the daughter of Sir George Sexton, Knt., who sheltered them from that time, until Sir Phelim O'Neil gave them a pass to come away. But what became of this deponent's said sister she cannot tell, but is verily persuaded they drowned her in a lough which was near unto them.

JOANNA CONSTABLE.
her + mark

Jurat. Feb. 6th, 1643,
JOHN STERNE.
HENRY BRERETON.

And this deponent further saith, that she hath often heard the rebels Owen O'Farren (*sic*) and Patrick O'Connellan and divers others of the rebels at Drumard, earnestly protest and say, and tell one another, that the blood of some of those that were knocked on the

head and after drowned at Portadown still remained on the bridge, and could not be washed away. And that after there appeared visions or apparitions, sometimes of men, sometimes of women, breast high above the water at or near Portadown bridge, which did most extremely and fearfully shriek and cry for vengeance and blood against those Irish that murdered them. And that their cries and shriekings did terrify the Irish thereabouts, so that they durst not stay nor live long there, but fled and removed further into the country, and this was a common report amongst the rebels there, and passed for truth amongst them all, for anything she could learn to the contrary. And further saith, that sometimes when she asked the rebels, for often she dared not ask them, how they durst commit such wickedness and cruelties for fear of the king's majesty and his laws, they would answer, with base and obscene language, that they did not care for him or his laws, some of them, especially Turlogh O'Corr of Armagh, a base, devilish rebel, wishing that they had the king's head, and this he and others would often say when they were put to any want or distress, or were commanded by Sir Phelim O'Neil to go where they thought they should meet with any resistance or be put to any danger.

JOANNA CONSTABLE. +

Jurat. ut supra.
HEN. BRERETON.
JOHN STERNE.

LXXVIII.

MARGARET BROMLEY of Ballymore, otherwise Tonragee, in the county of Armagh, widow, duly sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, that about the beginning of the said rebellion she, this deponent, was forcibly, at Ballymore aforesaid, expelled from, deprived, robbed, or otherwise despoiled, of her goods and chattels of the value hereinafter mentioned, viz. of household goods, cattle, apparel, and money amounting to 300*l.* And that Donogh Mac (*illegible*), Phelim Magennis, Phelim O'Hanlon, Oghie O'Hanlon, all of the parish of Tonragee, who are attainted and public plunderers, stand indebted to this deponent in several sums amounting in all to 26*l.* sterling, and by means of this rebellion she is persuaded she will lose those monies, her present losses by means of the rebellion amount to no less than 377*l.* sterling. And further saith, that the persons that so robbed and spoiled her were those traitors following, viz.: Edmund O'Hanlon, of the parish of Tonragee afore-

said; Farderough O'Hanlon, of the same, and their brother Oghie O'Hanlon, of the same, gent.; Ewelm O'Hanlon aforesaid; Phelim Magennis, before named; Henry O'Hanlon, of the same parish, and many others to the number of forty more, whose names this deponent cannot remember. And further saith, that the said Phelimy Magennis and (*illegible*) O'Hanlon, (*illegible*) MacMurphy, Callogh O'Hanlon, and Loughlin O'Rourke, hanged her husband James Bromley, and Richard Wigton, murdered William Todd, and his wife and child, and also they murdered George Copeland and his wife, John Toft and his wife and three children, John MacLoghlin and his wife and two children, and drowned John Hartley and Anne Watkins. And they also murdered Anne Cooke and her two children, and one Adams an Englishman, all put to death on May eve last. And further saith, that Oghie O'Hanlon, Turlogh O'Hanlon, and Edmund O'Neil, and Henry O'Hanlon, and Shane O'Neil murdered John (*illegible*), this deponent's father, and hanged Mr. Parkins, although they had received three prisoners from Lisnegarvy in exchange for them. And this deponeth further saith, that seven score and ten Protestants, men, women, and children, were all drowned at one time at Portadowne, by Toole MacCann of Portadowne and his companions.

And the rebels gathered out of several parishes in the county of Armagh, whom they drowned at Scarvagh Bridge, one hundred at one time, four score at another time, three score at another time, and fifty at another time. And there were divers other persons killed and drowned by the rebels at other times and places whose names she is not able to give. And at the last time of her knowledge of their cruelty, the rebels gathered together three score and odd Protestants, pretending they would send them to Clandeboy, to the Lord Hamilton, but instead thereof they most miserably drowned them at Scarvagh Bridge. And this deponent, being a prisoner amongst the rebels, heard one of them, viz. Patrick MacCabe, of the parish of Tonragee aforesaid, say these words: 'If I had the king of England in the shambles (viz. where he the said Patrick was a butcher) I would take off his head in half an hour.' And she heard divers of the rebels say that when they had conquered Ireland they would make Sir Phelim O'Neil the king of the north. And it was a common report amongst the rebels that the priests and friars were the cause of their killing and putting to death the English and Scotch Protestants. And the rebels also usually say that Protestants were worse than dogs, and no Christians, but only those that

were christened at Mass were Christians, and that Protestants should be christened over again before they could be Christians. And the rebels also said that they knew that if they themselves should die the next morning their souls would go to God, and that they were very glad of the revenge they had taken of the English.

MARGARET BROMLEY. +

Jurat. 26*th of August*, 1642,
JOHN WATSON.
WM. ALDRICH.
JOHN STERNE.

LXXIX.

The Examination of MRS. JANE BEARE, *aged* 53 *years, or thereabouts, taken before us the* 26*th day of February*, 1652.

This examt. being duly sworn and examined, saith, that she lived in the first year of the rebellion at Bal(*illegible*), in the parish of Armagh, within three miles of Charlemont, and saith that she did know Sir Phelim O'Neil several years before the rebellion did break forth, and she did hear that the night before it brake forth the said Sir Phelim went to Charlemont to visit the Lady Caulfield and her son the young lord, as he, Sir Phelim, pretended, but he used that opportunity to bring in several Irish of his followers, who surprised the said castle, and took the young lord prisoner, and this examt.'s husband the next morning, hearing the news of that surprisal, and of a general rising, took his horse and rode to Armagh to know the reason of it. And when he came to the town of Armagh, he did there see Sir Phelim on horseback in the market-place, with several men around him, and he, the said examt.'s husband, with other English, pressed, demanding of the said Sir Phelim the reason of his being in arms. The said Sir Phelim replied if he did it of his own head, he was a traitor, but that he had a command for what he did. And therewith showed them the king's commission (as she supposeth), with his broad seal to it as the examt.'s husband told her when he came home next day, and withal said we were 'a sold people.'

And this examt. further saith, that the English at and near Armagh betook them to the Church for their security, and the said Sir Phelim came within four days more to Armagh, to summon the Church, which was delivered to him upon conditions, and that the said Sir Phelim made proclamation that they should return to their

several dwellings, where he judged they should be safe, but as soon as the English were so dispersed the Irish fell a plundering and murdering them. And others they took prisoners, some of whom they brought to the church of Lochgall, in which place several of them were in grievous ways tortured to make them confess where their money was, by which means the rebels got some 4,000*l.*, or thereabouts, as it was reported. In which time several of the English were inquisitioned what they would do with them, and the rebels told them they could not tell till they had orders from Sir Phelim O'Neil, but within some seven or eight days after, Sir Phelim came from Armagh, burning and destroying several houses on his way to Loughgall, and the next day all the English prisoners were sent away, pretending to send them to Lisnogarvy, which was an English garrison, but when they came to Portadowne bridge they were there all killed and drowned to the number of one hundred and forty, men, women, and children; some of which were country people, that came to them upon their report that they were to go to Lisnagarvy, thinking to take the benefit of that convoy, and some were drowned with the rest. And this examt. further saith, that she lived all that winter after in the town of Armagh, where Sir Phelim O'Neil was one day when there was a command from the said Sir Phelim, as was reported, for the gathering of the English for to send them to the town of Drogheda, as was pretended, and there was about one hundred and forty taken up to (*illegible*) as aforesaid, but on the way to Dundalk, as this examt. was informed, there were ninety of them murdered, so that there came but fifty thereof to Dundalk or thereabouts.

And saith further, that there were three several companies taken up of English, many of whom were afterwards sent towards Charlemont into the country several ways and were murdered. And the day that the town of Armagh was burnt, the said Sir Phelim with his company came to the market-place, and gave command to them to burn the town, and gather up all the Englishmen and carry them down to Charlemont, and as the Irish themselves did say, they asked him what they should do with the women and children, and he replied that they might make gunpowder of them if they would. And by his permission they acted much cruelty and murders that day in the town and country, and this examt. herself was then a great sufferer, being forced to go through the flames of fire to save herself and her children, and had a son of eighteen years of age murdered that day by the rebels, and a little son of

eight years of age, frighted with the sight of his brother's death out of his senses, died within three days after. And this examt., through the special providence of God, escaped with some of her children into the mountains, where she wandered three days, in which time she lost one more of her children, and afterwards her husband and two more of her children were murdered between Newry and Dundalk, before she got to Dublin. And further this examt. saith, that the cause of her knowledge appeareth, she being an eye-witness of some of these particulars, and that she did since then hear the reports of these and many more cruelties that were committed and came to her hearing.

JANE BEARE.

Taken before us, the day before mentioned,
HIE. SANKEY.
HEN. JONES.

FURTHER EXAMINATION OF MRS. BEARE.

March 2nd, 1652.

MRS. JANE BEARE, further examined, saith, that not long after the Lord Caulfield was murdered, the person that murdered him, one O'Hugh, was taken and imprisoned in the gaol at Armagh, and had three men set sentinel over him, an Englishman, a Scotchman, and an Irishman, but by means of the gaoler the said O'Hugh made his escape, and the gaoler went along with him; upon which Sir Phelim O'Neil caused the three sentinels aforesaid to be imprisoned, and threatened to hang them all, and the Scotchman and Englishman were both hanged, though many entreaties and means were made to the contrary, but the Irishman was released, and the gaoler that conveyed away the murderer aforesaid afterwards returned to his post as gaoler of Armagh, and remained there unquestioned and unmolested by the said Sir Phelim.

JANE BEARE.

Sworn before us, the day above written,
HIE. SANKEY.
H. ALLEN.

LXXX.

The Examination of Jane Beare, *the late wife of Erasmus Beare, late of Ballyresoone, in the parish of Armagh, gent., deceased, taken the 4th day of June,* 1653, *before us, Daniel Hutchieson, Esq., Robert Meredith, Bart., and Robert Jeffrey, Esq., appointed by the High Court of Justice, sitting at Dublin, to take examinations of murders and massacres.*

The said examt., being duly sworn and examined, deposeth, that about Allhallowtide, in the year of our Lord 1641, the rebellion being before that time broken out in the north, she came to the town of Armagh, thinking there to secure herself, yet she, with many other English, were kept prisoners there, until the town was set on fire, which was on Friday next after May day, then next following. And this examt. saith, that at that time and before there dwelt in the said town of Armagh one Edmund Crelly, who was before the burning of the same made Captain thereof by Sir Phelim O'Neil. And that this Edmund Crelly was son to Tiegue Crelly, who was made sovereign of the town by the said Sir Phelim. And this examt. saith, that the said Edmund and his father were both very favourable to the English, then imprisoned there, and in particular to this deponent, and did much good unto her and the rest, and were exceeding merciful unto them to the uttermost of their power. And this examt. saith, that all the rest of the Crellies who dwelt in the said town of Armagh, and all the rest of the Irish inhabitants there, except the said Edmund Crelly and his father, were all actors in the burning of the said town and committing the massacre there.

And this examt. saith, that Michael Dunn, late of Knockowrne, in the county of Antrim, gent., brought there with him the same winter his wife and family to a place called Horkley, near Armagh, which was his wife's former husband's father's lands, and there most cruelly turned out of the said town and lands of Horkley all the English there dwelling, and the said Michael and his wife possessed themselves of their houses, corn and cattle, as some of them that were not so turned out did report unto this examt. And the said Michael leaving his wife there, this examt. heard by report in the said town of Armagh that the Irish made their boast that he, the said Michael, went then from Horkly to his house of Knockearne, and there killed and murdered all the English and Scots

that dwelt there, near about his lands. And this examt. saith, that afterwards he came again to Armagh, the winter before it was burnt, and there joined himself with Sir Phelim O'Neil, and his army, and rid forth with them to several places, when the said Sir Phelim did fight against the English. And this examt. saith, that she heard it credibly reported that the said Michael Dunn did tell one Thomas Dixon, now of Drogheda, and then of Armagh, that he, the said Michael, and one other whose name this examt. knoweth not, the first winter of the rebellion, at or about the land of Knockearne aforesaid, did kill and murder twenty-seven of the English and Scots at one time, and seventeen at another time.

This examt. saith, that she knoweth not Coll MacAlexander, but that there are three brothers of that surname, whereof she saw one at Belfast, who had his arm tied in a string, and was called Colkittagh, and he came thither (about the time that General Monroe had the government of Ulster) from the slaughter of the English and Scots about Coleraine. And it was reported to this examt. that he then bragged he had there killed forty of the English and Scots in one day. But whether this Coll be the same man that is called Coll MacAlexander, this examt. knoweth not. And this examt. saith that she can say nothing concerning Cathal O'Quin. But she verily believes that one Mary Symes, of Belfast, wife of one William Symes of the same, can give better evidence against him than she can.

Jane Beare.

Daniel Hutchieson.
Robt. Meredith.
Robt. Jeffreys.

Note.

The above statement respecting Coll MacAlexander seems in some degree to contradict Mr. Hill's account of the MacDonnells quoted at p. 21, *note*. But Mrs. Beare knew nothing of Celtic patronymics and the wounded hand of Coll MacAlexander would cause many English and even Irish, who only heard of the Colonsay MacDonnells by report, to confound him with old Coll Ciotach. This Coll MacAlexander may have been the son of Alaster or Alexander, whose real patronymic would be Alexander MacColl Ciotach, that is Alexander the son of Coll Ciotach, but inaccurate speakers would often omit the 'Mac,' which would lead to the error of calling him Alexander Colciotach or Alaster Colkitto.

LXXXI.

Peter Kirkber (*sic*), of the city of Dublin, smith, duly sworn and examined, this 1st of April, 1654, deposeth and saith, that in the first winter after the rebellion in Ireland, this examt. then living in Belturbet, in the county of Cavan, in the nature of a prisoner with the rebels, this examt. did see Brian Oge O'Mulpatrick, Gillis Oge O'Reily, Cahir More O'Mulpatrick, Brian Reogh Mulpatrick, Farrel McBrian Reogh Mulpatrick, son of the said Brian, and another son of the said Brian, whose name this examt. now remembereth not, all living in or near Belturbet, and also did see Donnell O'Reily, now or lately living in Enniskillen, in the county of Fermanagh, with divers others whose names this examt. remembereth not, and all the said persons being together in the said town of Belturbet, this examt. standing in the window of his own house in the said town, did see them carry Timothy Dickson, James Carr, and William Gibbs, three Englishmen, through the said town, towards the gallows, which stood at the said town's end, and did see the said Carr and Dickson drawn up by a rope, which was fastened about their necks, to the top of the said gallows; where they did hang for a while, and were then cut down and did then see the said Donnell O'Reily (*alias* Daniel Johnson), with the rest of the said rebels, returning from the said gallows. And this examt. further saith, that immediately upon that, he, together with one Edmund Brady, now living in or near Belturbet, went up to the said gallows, and there found the said James Carr and Timothy Dickson lying upon their faces under the said gallows, both dead. This examt. further saith, that, as he remembers, the said William Gibbs' brother (now living at Trim), the same day that the said Carr and Dickson were hanged, did tell this examt. that the rebels did put a rope round the said William Gibbs' neck, intending to hang him also, but by the mediation of some of the rebels he was then saved.

This examt. further saith, that returning from the gallows after seeing the said Dickson and Carr hanged as aforesaid, he did perceive the said Donnell O'Rely, *alias* Donell Johnson, with the rest of the rebels aforesaid, going before the said examt. through the town towards the river at Belturbet, and driving before them the wife of the said Timothy Dickson and his two children, Gamaliel Carter's wife and one of his children, the widow Philips, Edward Martin's wife and two of his children, John Jones and two of his

children, Samuel, commonly called Samuel the hookmaker, the widow Munday, and the widow Stanton, and several other Protestants, to the number of thirty-seven or thereabouts, and in their passage to the said river this examt. did see the said widow Munday kneel upon her knees (*sic*), and beg of the said Donnell Rely to save her life, but he, taking her by the shoulder, thrust her before him, and said she should go with the rest and so she and the rest being brought to the bridge at Belturbet; this examt. standing upon the edge of the hill, within sight of the said bridge, did see the said Donell O'Rely, *alias* Daniel Johnson, and the rest of the said rebels thrust off the bridge into the said river the said Protestants to the number of thirty-seven or thereabouts, as aforesaid, when they were all drowned.

This examt. saith, that in some days after, the corpses of the two children of the said Edward Martin being cast upon the shore of the river, this examt. did help to bury them. And this examt. saith, that soon after the drowning of the said Protestants, he heard it generally reported in the said town of Belturbet, that Samuel the hookmaker did swim in the said river towards the shore; when Philip O'Togher, one of the said rebels, with a pike which he had in his hand, thrust the said Samuel in the body and drove him further into the river, where he was drowned. And further saith not.

Peter Kirkber.

Taken and deposed before us,
this day and year above mentioned,
(*illegible*) Hooke.
Timothy Ainslie.

LXXXII.

William Gibbs, of Belturbet, in the county of Cavan, duly sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, that in the beginning of the present rebellion, viz. about the 27th of November, 1641, Owen Brady, then chief servant to Philip McHugh McShane O'Reily, came to this deponent's house, and then and there took notice of the cattle and goods he had, and bade them look to them, that none should take them away, and if they did, to make him acquainted with it. Whereupon this deponent, for six days together, kept his cattle locked up in a house. And then one Hugh O'Reily, of Kilwarter, in the county aforesaid, gentleman, assisted by other rebels, broke down the wall of the said house, and forcibly took away this deponent's cattle, worth 16*l.* sterling. And after-

wards about the latter end of January, then next following, the rebels, Brian Oge Mulpatrick, of Derrigleish, in the same county, gent., and Daniel Oge Mulpatrick, his brother, commanders of rebels, with their rebellious soldiers, forcibly entered this deponent's house, and thence by like force took and carried away his household goods, provision, apparel, and other things, worth 30*l.* And then, because the deponent was a butcher, they enforced him to stay and slaughter cattle, and sell the flesh, and also stayed his wife and children, and so narrowly were they looked unto, that they durst not offer to escape away, nor could depart thence, until about the 21st of June, 1643. And then this deponent and his wife, and one child, the other three being in the interim dead, by license from the said Philip MacHugh O'Rely, came amongst them, with a convoy, and so along to Dublin. But were within four miles of Kells, stripped of all their clothes by the rebels, commanded by one Captain Davies. And further saith, that whilst he stayed at Belturbet aforesaid among the rebels, he observed and well knew that one Knogher Oge O'Reilly, of (*blank*) in the county of Fermanagh, a notorious rebel, came to Belturbet aforesaid, and joined with Brian Oge O'Mulpatrick, aforenamed, and a great number of the sept of the Mulpatricks, and other wicked rebels. And then and there, viz. about the 30th of January, 1641, those rebels took about thirty-four British Protestants, men, women, and children, and drowned them in the river at Belturbet, after which time the plenty of fish formerly in that river went away. And the rebels then and there hanged to death two other Protestants, viz. James Carr and Timothy Dickson. And put a rope round this examt.'s neck, wherewith to hang him too, but that one Donnel O'Rely, this examt.'s old acquaintance, saved his life. But the rebels did most cruelly wound and hurt this examt.'s wife in her head, and almost cut off one of her ears, thinking, as he conceiveth, to kill her; they left her bleeding extremely, howbeit it pleased God she recovered. And further saith, that as many of the Protestants this deponent knew, that were so drowned at Belturbet, were these, viz. John Jones, Cham Carter, Samuel Walsh, old William Carter, the wife of the said James Carr, one Mrs. Phillips, the widow Mundy, Anne Cutler, Elizabeth Stanton and two of her children and four of her daughter's children, the wife of the said Timothy Dickson and four children, the wife of William Carter aforenamed and two of her daughters and two of her grandchildren, but the rest he cannot tell by name. And further saith, that one John

Ogle, tanner, formerly of Belturbet, was hanged in Fermanagh by the Maguires.

And saith also, that on Palm Sunday last, the said rebels, Brian Oge Mulpatrick, and others of the soldiers of Philip Roe O'Reilly, burned the town, and castle, and church of Belturbet. And long before that time, the rebels had robbed all the British Protestants thereabouts of their goods and effects, and had murdered all those that fled not to save their lives, except those that were after long durance sent away with a convoy, which were about 140 or thereabouts, whereof about fifteen or sixteen were men, the rest women and children. And the rebels in the said county of Cavan have burned and destroyed the most of the houses that belonged to the English or Scottish, and have spared none save a few that they usurp and dwell in themselves.

WILLIAM GIBBS +

Jurat. 31*st Jan.*, 1643,
HEN. JONES.
HEN. BRERETON.

Note.

Another witness, WILLIAM SMITH, who lived in Belturbet during the massacre, and was forced to work for the rebels at his trade as a smith, swore on the 8th of February, before the same commissioners, that he knew fifty-eight Protestants were drowned at the bridge at one time or another, and that when some of them endeavoured to swim to the bank, they were shot or 'piked' by the Mulpatricks and their confederates. He adds:—

'The said Philip MacHugh O'Reilly seemed to be highly displeased with these acts, but within a month, or thereabouts, he received the murderers into his company. And this examt. further saith, that in the time of his being among the rebels at Belturbet aforesaid, after the drowning and hanging of the Protestants there, many fearful screeches, howling, and the most direful cries, as many of the Irish often told this deponent, were heard by them (the Irish) several nights, as they were watching at the Castle as soldiers, and at the place where many of the bodies were taken up out of the water. And those cries and screeches, the Irish soldiers said, much affrighted them, so that they durst not stand, but did run from their sentries and watches several times unto the town, out of the noise thereof; those Irish soldiers saying that they thought those cries were the cries of the people that were drowned in that river against those that

drowned them there. And this examt. further saith, that he heard the said Philip McHugh O'Reilly publicly say, that God would not give a blessing to anything that his countrymen in action took in hand, because of these murders and cruelties.'

Another witness, Joan Killin, a native of Belturbet, swore that the Mulpatricks told her they had Philip McHugh O'Reily's warrant and orders for all they did.

LXXXIII.

Marmaduke Batemannson, of Ballyheys in the county of Cavan, gent., sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, that he was robbed and despoiled of goods and chattels worth 90*l.* by Philip Oge O'Reilly, Esq., and Hugh Roe O'Reilly, captains of the rebels, and Rose ny Neil the wife of Philip MacHugh MacShane O'Reilly, a colonel of the rebels, which said Rose, out of devilish spite and malice to the English and Scottish, endeavoured to have them all put to death, and would have effected it, had not her husband denied to suffer it, he saying to her, '*The day will come when thou mayest be beholding to the poorest among them*,' further telling her that she might put all the English and Scottish there to death if she would, but that if she did, he would forsake her and never come near her. Yet notwithstanding; that virago, harbouring the envy and traitorous mind of her ancestors and kindred, was the chief cause and instigator of the drowning of fifty Protestants—men, women, and children—at one time at the bridge of Belturbet. And she and the rebels before named, and their confederates, did strip and deprive all the English and Scotch Protestants thereabouts that they possibly could of all their goods and chattels, sparing neither sex nor age. And this deponent is verily persuaded that if they had not been restrained by the said Philip MacHugh MacShane O'Reilly, their colonel, this deponent and the rest of the Protestants that escaped had been murdered. And further saith, that the said Rose, in further expression of her hatred to the English and Scottish, said that she was never well the day she saw any one of either of those nations. And when she, by force and robbery, had taken all this deponent's goods, and she was asked by him for a bed to lie in, she scornfully denied it, saying he must learn to lie in straw, as he was sure to do.

Marmaduke Battmanson.

Jurat. 14*th April*, 1643,
John Stern.
Randal Adams.

LXXXIV.

Edward Philpot, Esq., late of Belturbet, in the county of Cavan, sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, that when the present rebellion began in the county aforesaid, viz. about the 23rd day of October, 1641, he this deponent and Dame Mary Butler his wife (then the widow of Sir Stephen Butler, Knt.) and five of the children of the said Sir Stephen were by the rebels forcibly expelled from their houses, lands, and means, and forcibly despoiled of jewels, goods, cattle, plate, &c., worth 2,500*l.*, and are likely to lose the profits of lands worth 1,000*l.* per annum, until a peace be established. And further saith, that this deponent and the rest flying away for safety of their lives were, upon the way, assaulted and set upon by the rebels, and some of their tenants and company were cruelly and barbarously slain, others stripped and robbed of all their apparel. And so turned naked, without respect of age or sex, upon the wild, barren mountains, in the cold air, exposed to all the severity of the winter; from whence in such posture and state they wandered towards Dublin, where by God's providence they were brought at length, and have ever since continued, subsisting on the charity of their neighbours, well affected people, in a most indigent and woeful case. And further saith, that the rebels that so robbed them were these that follow, viz. Philip MacHugh MacShane O'Reilly, Esquire, Myles O'Reilly, late High Sheriff of Cavan, with their soldiers and confederates, being many hundreds in number, whose names he remembereth not.

Edward Philpot.

Jurat. 27*th Feb.*, 1642,
Wm. Aldrich.
Hen. Brereton.

Note.

The following account of the state of Belturbet and the miseries of the Protestants who managed to escape from it in 1641, was drawn up for the Duke of Ormond in 1682, by John Parker, Bishop of Elphin, and is now among the Carte MSS. in the Bodleian Library. I believe it has never before been printed in full. Parker was Rector of Belturbet when the rebellion began, but could have seen

little or nothing of the sufferings of the townsfolk, as he left it on the 24th of October.

May it please your Grace,—It is now my comfort, that I can with thankfulness recount the sufferings I was exposed to in the beginning of the Irish rebellion, as surviving so great a danger. The rumour of a general rising in the counties Cavan and Fermanagh came to us at 'Turbet (*sic*) on October 23d, 1641. That evening the houses and villages around us were fired by the rebels; the English, turned out of their dwellings, and sent away naked and desolate, came to us in great numbers. The next day I repaired with my family to the Lady Butler's castle, a place of very inconsiderable strength. Captain Richard Ryeves, with those soldiers he could draw together of his troop, attended the English with much faithfulness, till such time as the inhabitants, apprehending their disability in making resistance, seemed unwilling to stand by him. He then marched through the enemy. Soon after, Philip MacHugh O'Reilly, then knight of the shire for the county of Cavan, entered the town and gave public notice that whosoever would should have leave to depart, and to carry away part of his goods. The English inhabitants gladly laid hold upon this promise, and forthwith prepared to leave the place, and about eight hundred souls, as near as I could guess—men, women, and children—began their journey, as they thought, for Dublin. That night we all lay in the open field, next day we were met by a party of the rebels, who killed some, robbed and spoiled the rest; me they stripped to the shirt in miserable weather, my wife was not so barbarously used, both of us, with a multitude of others, hurried to Moren Hall, that night we lay in heaps, expecting every hour to be massacred. Next morning I resolved, if possible, to take sanctuary at Kilmore, and was happily met by Mr. Sheridan, who, pitying my bleeding condition, cast his cloak over me and brought me to the Bishop's house, where I was received with all demonstrations of kindness, the good bishop telling me that they that sought my life sought his. There, for the space of three weeks, we enjoyed a heaven upon earth, much of our time spent in prayer, reading God's Word, and in good conference; inasmuch as I have since oft professed my willingness to undergo (if my heart did not deceive me) another Irish stripping to enjoy a conversation with so learned and holy a man. About the middle of November one of their priests came to Kilmore and proffered his assistance to be our guide to Dublin. Some said the Earl of

Westmeath sent him to do that charitable office. The Bishop (Bedell), who was of an undaunted courage and holy magnanimity, resolved to weather it out, but comforted and encouraged those that were willing to go, and gave them his blessing; sure I am all fared the better for it, not one miscarried; nay, the rebels had not power to take a thread of the garments his lordship gave to those that had been stripped. The priest brought us that night to Maolmor O'Reilly's house, where was Dean Jones and his family (*illegible*). I was an utter stranger to them till he came with us to Killerkin; there we were received and relieved by Judge Donelan, who furnished us with horses, clothes, and money. But we were soon unhorsed. The very next day the rebels separated me, my wife, and one Mr. Culme, from the priest and from our company, and in the evening carried us to a blind alehouse and fell to the old work of stripping; we were then rescued by one Mr. Bermingham, I think his name was. He led us to his own house, where I must say we wanted nothing but liberty, and after some time had his promise to conduct us to Dublin, and in order thereunto procured us the horses which had been taken from us. The gentleman rode with us the first day, but being informed some lay in wait to spoil us, made a halt and fairly told us 'Further I cannot go; during your stay with me you have been kindly treated; is it not better I should have your horses and clothes than for others to take them?' This being by us readily yielded to, so we began our pilgrimage again, reached Kilcock, and slept sweetly on a bed of straw; thence to Leixlip, and upon the 10th or 11th of December, through many difficulties and hazards, being often brought to the brink of ruin and unto the brow of the precipice, the Keeper of Israel, Who tended us in all our sufferings, and protected us in all our fears and dangers, gave us our heart's desire, bringing us to the port and haven where we would be. Soon after, by the favour of the then Lords Justices, I was admitted to officiate in the Castle, where my poor and weak labours were watered with your Grace's countenance and beneficence. And since the happy restoration of his sacred Majesty, all I have or am I derive from your Grace's overflowing goodness to me. The God of heaven long and long preserve your Grace, and all the branches of your illustrious family, ever and ever remaining your Grace's most faithful, most humble, and most obedient servant,

Jo. Elphin.

Ryeves, mentioned in the Bishop's statement, made the following deposition in March, 1644, before Jones and Pigott :—

Serjeant Major Richard Ryves, being duly sworn and examined, saith, that on Saturday, the 23rd of October, 1641, being at Belturbett, in the county of Cavan, where he commanded Sir John Borlase's troop, about eleven of the clock at noon he heard of some rising in the country, and by such as repaired thither out of the neighbouring country, he was certainly informed of the like doings in the neighbouring county of Fermanagh, and of the murder of Arthur Champion and others; whereupon he got together as many of his troop as he could, and finding the inhabitants of Belturbet not formed to put themselves in a posture of defence, but resolved to deliver the town to Philip MacHugh O'Reily, who undertook their protection, he, this examnt., marched on Sunday in the afternoon to Cavan, where he stayed that night, and hearing that the passage to Virginia was intercepted by five hundred Irish gathered thereabouts, this deponent took his way through Westmeath, towards Dublin, in the night lying in the fields. On Tuesday, the 26th of October, as he went towards Ardbraccan, near Navan, in the county Meath, he understood that the country was up in arms, and all the English inhabitants pillaged by the Irish of Meath, and meeting the rebels driving off sheep taken from the English, he made stay of them, killing two of the rebels, and taking five or six prisoners, whom he carried to Ardbraccan, and finding them to be Sir William Hill's tenants and household servants, they, alleging that they were employed by the said Sir William to gather his rents, this examnt. dismissed them. All these were inhabitants of Meath, one only excepted, who was an Ulster man, as this deponent perceived by his habit. From Ardbraccan this deponent sent to know the pleasure of the State, who commanded him to quarter at Ardbraccan, from whence about five or six days after, being moved with the pitiful complaints of the English, cruelly pillaged, he went out with a party of horse, and in a town belonging to the said Sir William Hill, and near unto his house, he found some goods belonging to the English, and took prisoner those in whose custody they were found, two of them being Sir William's servants, who had been before taken and released by this examt., concerning whose release the said Sir William's eldest son, discoursing with this examt. at Ardbraccan aforesaid, demanded of this examt. why he would go and incense the country, seeing that all parts of Ireland were resolved to take up arms, or words to that effect. The English generally in the county

of Meath were robbed as aforesaid, particularly this examt. remembereth Mr. Salwey of Fianstoune, Mr. Aldersley, Mr. Jerome Alexander, near Kells, and Mr. Richard Ball. This examt. further saith, that soon after he had received command from the Lords Justices for staying at Ardbraccan, he also received an order to forbear making any inroads upon the country, until after ten days; within which time the inhabitants of the Pale promised to make restitution of the Englishmen's goods, but upon information by this deponent given to the Lords, that they intended or meant nothing of the kind, the Lords sent him a commission for martial law to hang such as should be found pillaging. The time that this examt. stayed at Ardbraccan was about three weeks or thereabouts, and he was commanded to go from thence to Dublin when the Cavan rebels were coming to Meath.

LXXXV.

Thomas Richardson, late of Newry, in the county of Down, tailor, an English Protestant, sworn and examined saith, that since the beginning of the rebellion, viz. about the 23rd of October last, he was expelled and dispossessed of his houses and farms in Newry aforesaid, to the value of 30*l.*, and other goods and chattels worth 121*l.*, in all 151*l.*, by Sir Con Magennis of Newcastle in the county Down, Daniel Oge Magennis, Esq., of Glasroe, Michael Garvey, sub-sheriff of the county Down, and other rebels. And further saith, that after this deponent was pillaged and robbed of his goods, and he and his wife and children had gathered some poor clothes, or begged them, as other poor stripped English had done, the rebels made a proclamation for all English to depart or suffer instant death, or perpetual imprisonment. Whereupon this deponent and his wife and five small children going away, were again stripped of all their clothes left, and flying away for safety naked in the frost and snow, one poor daughter of his, seeing him and her mother grieve and cry for their misery, in the way of comforting them said she was not cold, nor did cry, although presently after she died of cold and want. And the first night this deponent and his wife, creeping for shelter into a poor creaght, were glad to lie upon their little children, to keep them from dying of cold.

Thos. + Richardson.

Jurat. 30*th Jan.*, 1642,
John Sterne.
Will. Hitchcock.

LXXXVI.

Elizabeth Croker, late of the Newry, in the county of Down, duly sworn and examined, saith, that at or about the beginning of this rebellion she was stripped and despoiled of goods and clothes to the value of 10*l.* and upwards, and that she and her son were taken by the rebels and carried out to be drowned, and by the extremity of the weather were cast upon a rock, where she and her child lay almost naked and starved but coming back again to the Newry afterwards, she with divers others were carried to Newcastle to be hanged, and there were some fifteen of them hanged, and the rest were turned away, and came back to the Newry, where they were kept prisoners seven weeks, until the Lord Conway came and took the Newry. And saith, that the Viscountess Iveagh was so cruel against the English and Scottish, that she was very angry because the soldiers did not put them all to death. And saith, that as she this deponent was coming with the others back to the Newry, some of the Irish going to mass seemed to pity them, and did bid them go to a creaght hard by to warm themselves; whither they were no sooner come, but a number of rebels there assaulted and set upon them, and quite stripped them naked. And when this deponent and the rest of the Protestants would call on God Almighty to save and help them, the rebels or some of them would in a most scornful manner, contemptuous and blasphemous, bid the distressed company, 'Call upon their God and see if He would save them,' and speak other profane words, the women being more cruel and scornful than the men, swearing and vowing they would kill them because they were of English kind. And further saith, that Sir Con Magennis and his soldiers hanged one Mr. Tutch, the Protestant minister of the Newry, he holding up his hands to God praying a little before they hanged him, and some of them cut and slashed him with their swords. And some time after the said Magennis falling sick, and lying on his death-bed, complained that Mr. Tutch would require his blood, and was standing in his sight there before him and often asked his servants to take away Mr. Tutch, for he was come thither to call him the said Magennis away; with many other grievous expressions to the same purpose, which the said Colonel Magennis continued to express till he died, and he forewarned his followers to take care whom they killed from henceforth, for that Mr. Tutch's blood was upon his soul. And further saith, that

the rebels did commonly say to the Protestants, that they were not Christians, and that there was no salvation for them. And further saith, that as some of these rebels were robbing and profaning the Protestant church, one of them fell down in such trembling and shaking that the rest were glad to take him out as a frantic man.

ELIZABETH + CROKER.

Jurat. 15*th March*, 1642,
WILLIAM ALDRICH.
HEN. BRERETON.

Note.

It is easy to believe that Magennis on his death-bed did feel remorse for the murder of Mr. Tutch by the soldiers. We are told by those who have undertaken the defence of Phelim O'Neil that he felt much troubled for the murders committed by his followers when he was brought face to face with death. The trembling and shaking of the rebel in the church he desecrated (with similar appearances recorded in other depositions) points to intemperate habits common to all Irish conspirators and rebels from age to age. Dr. Madden in his lives of the United Irishmen notices the enormous quantities of wine consumed by some of the imprisoned at Kilmainham; and Cluseret, in an article which he contributed to 'Fraser's Magazine' a few years since, giving an account of his Irish experiences, says, that on the night appointed for a rising in Munster, he found two of the chief leaders at the appointed hour 'hopelessly drunk,' which as much as anything else made him abandon their 'cause.' The 'creaght' in which the unfortunate Protestants were invited to find a mock shelter, must have been in any case a miserable one, little better than an ill-built, ill-kept cowhouse. Mr. Herbert Pole Hore says:—

> 'The portion of an Irish sept styled a *creaght* was as nomad as an ancient Scythian horde. This sort of sept, peculiar (in the seventeenth century) to Ulster, was a community of relatives, to whom almost all was in common, and named in Gaelic "herdsmen of cattle," cows being, save their scanty clothing, almost their sole property. Their few wants were easily supplied, so far as lodging was concerned, by the use of such hovels as they found about the country. Central Ulster was a wilderness under the last O'Neil. . . . In peaceable times these herdspeople lay at night in a circle round the fire among their women and children, hardly superior to the animals they herded with, so far as outward appearance went.

On the other hand, when the estate of a chief or lord became crowded with creaghts, kerne, and betaghs, who held at his will, they proved as ready to follow him in war as if he were their *ceannkinne*. "Like master like man" is a true proverb in the reverse sense, and when "Silken Thomas," Lord Fitzgerald, backed by a mob of Celtic enthusiasts, revolted, both English master and Irish man performed parts that may be likened to those in the play, "Enter Tilburina, mad in dirty white satin, and her maid, mad in dirty white linen." ' (*The Archæology of Irish Tenant Right, Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. vi. p. 116.)

This is a very unromantic view to take of the successive outbursts of Irish patriotism, but, as Mr. Hore says elsewhere, it is often the positive duty of the writer on archæology to strip it, as well as history, of much of the romance that has grown up around both. The pastoral life of Ulster, whatever enthusiasts for Celtic manners and customs may say, was not an Arcadian one, nor were its creaghting hovels, which could be erected, we are told, in three days, Arcadian bowers. It is but right to say, however, that Con Magennis himself, judging by his letters and proclamations, seems to have had no direct share in the killing of unarmed persons, but to have discouraged and forbidden it. The murders of such persons which were undoubtedly committed by his followers, would therefore the more weigh upon his mind on his death-bed, when the sense of his indirect responsibility for them would be more vivid.

LXXXVII.

Captain William Cadogan, of Gillianstown, in the county of Meath, Esquire, being duly sworn and examined, saith, that upon Saturday, the 23d of October, 1641, about two hours before day, this deponent being then in his lodging, near the Castle gate in Dublin, heard a great noise in the street, whereupon he got out and was informed by divers that there was a plot in hand by the Lord Maguire and Hugh McMahon and others, to seize Dublin Castle, and the city, and to kill the English. Hereupon I went in company with others to see the conspirators, of whom the said Hugh and one Art MacMahon were apprehended by them and brought before the Lords Justices.

The next day being Sunday, this deponent, being accompanied by two servants, and one Lieutenant Cradock, went about three

o'clock in the afternoon towards the county Meath, where the little fortune he had remained, and going that night unto Piers-town, about eight miles from Dublin, I was there told that there was a great army of the Northern Irish coming towards the Pale, and that the lords and gentlemen of Meath were to have a meeting at Ratoth the next morning, being Monday. Whereupon I repaired to Ratoth that morning, but there being no such meeting, I held on my way towards the town of the Navan, and within two miles thereof I met Jerome Alexander, Esquire, a friend and neighbour of mine, riding full speed towards Dublin, and asking him what news (from Meath), he told me that the Irish were all up in arms between Navan and the town of Kells, and that the sovereign of Kells, one Barnaby O'Reilly, a merchant of Kells, and most of the people in that town had that morning robbed and pillaged him of all his estate to the value of 2,000*l.* at least, and all Mr. Aldersley's goods and cattle of great value were likewise taken away and pillaged by the men of Kells, and that he (Mr. Alexander) had very hardly escaped with his life, and was flying for Dublin; he advised me not to go any further on my way, for if I did I was a lost man. Upon this we parted, and I held on my way to the Navan, and from thence to Ardbrackan, the Bishop of Meath's own house, some two miles from the Navan, and found the people there, and divers others of the neighbourhood, all English, in great fright and terror, and demanding the reason, Mr. Edward Mellish and others told me that the whole country was up in arms, robbing and spoiling the English, and that he and the rest were flying to Dublin, which they instantly did. But I returned unto the Navan, and went that night unto the house of Mr. Lawrence Dowdall, of Athlummey, who married the Earl of Fingal's sister, being on the other side of the Boyne. When I came to the house, it was long before I could be admitted, and when I came in, they told me Mr. Dowdall and his wife were not at home. I found the gentlewomen, his sisters, exceedingly troubled with frights and fears and asking the reason, they told me that there was a great rebellion on foot, and great pillaging and plundering in the country. Staying there that night, and being lodged upon the top of the house, I came down upon the break of day, and there I found the gentlewomen and the people of the house that were sad over night, exceeding merry, and when I told them that I wondered at their so sudden change, the gentlewomen skipping and leaping up and down; they told me they had no reason to

be sad now, for their cousin, Colonel Plunkett—meaning Plunkett that had escaped from Dublin the day before, who was son unto Sir Christopher Plunkett—had been there about midnight, and had assured them no harm would be done unto them, or any of the Irish, only the British and the Protestants were all to be pillaged and expelled the kingdom, and that he (Colonel Plunkett) would be with fifteen thousand men at the Hill of Tara in the county of Meath, within eight days, and they said he was gone that morning to the Lord of Louth. Presently after this discourse, one Mrs. King, an old gentlewoman that lived in the house, whispered in my ear and said, that if I loved my own safety, I should get away quickly; whereupon I got to horse instantly, and spending some time in the Navan, I went afterwards to Ardbraccan aforesaid, where I met with Captain Ryeves, and some of Sir John Borlase's troop, who assured me that in the way as they came the Irish of Meath were plundering and pillaging the English. Upon this, I stayed that night at Ardbraccan, and the next morning I had news brought me that my house at Gallingstown (*sic*) was robbed, and all I had taken away, being about 3,000 sheep, four hundred head of English cattle, and ten horses, with some threescore English mares and colts, and that Mr. Plunkett, of Clonybreny, Mr. Plunkett, of Domagrovran, Mr. Plunkett, of Newcastle, the son of Mr. Plunkett, of Castleterwyn, Robert Caum Plunkett, and divers others of the Plunketts, being near neighbours together, with my landlord, Oliver Balfe, and his sons, with divers others of the county of Meath, had taken these from me, and this I afterwards found to be true, for I found part of my goods in each of those persons' possession, whereof some part I received from them again upon going to my house, which was within ten miles of Ardbrackan, which house I found empty, my goods and cattle all taken away.

Returning from thence to Ardbraccan upon Friday following, all the English thereabouts, as by name, Mr. Stephen Palmer, Mr. William Bradley, and most of those that dwelt between the Navan and Kells, and towards the hill of Faghan near (*blank*), the Lord Ranelagh's house, came to Ardbraccan, complaining that they had all been pillaged and plundered, and that they knew not what to do, for that the Irish told them the Castle of Dublin was taken by them, and that if the English went thither, their throats would be cut. I demanded of them who were these actors; they told me, being nothing but what I knew before, that Sir William Hill; Beatagh's son of Moynalty; Francis Hill, the said Sir

William's son, who was married to the Earl of Fingal's sister, Mape of Maperath, and his son, Walter Cusack, and many of the townsmen of Kells, Plunkett of Girly, his brother, Barnaby Rely, the sovereign of Kells, and John Dowdall were the prime instruments in robbing and taking away their goods, being all their neighbours, and living in the said county of Meath.

Upon Monday following I apprehended the sovereign of Kells, Barnaby Reily, and divers others and having between sixty and eighty of them in the Castle of Trim; all the Irish in those parts, being a great number, having been robbed and pillaged by the county of Meath people in the first three or four days of the rebellion, came to me complaining of their distressed case, and upon examinations taken by myself and others of the justices of peace in those parts; it was confessed by divers of those that were apprehended, that they had received command to rob and destroy the English, and some of them did confess that they were commanded so to do by one Mr. Arthur Fox, who lived in those parts.

There was scarce an Englishman on the further side of the Boyne, in the whole county of Meath, left unpillaged in the first eight or nine days after the 23d of October, 1641, and that by the county of Meath men themselves, before any of the northern Irish had fallen into the Pale, their rendezvous then being at Cavan and Virginia.

WILLIAM CADOGAN.

Jurat. 16*th March*, 1643,
HEN. JONES.
HEN. BRERETON.

LXXXVIII.

The Examination of BRIAN MAGUIRE, *taken the* 13*th day of June*, 1643, *before us, Sir Gerard Lowther, Knt., Chief Justice of His Majesty's Common Pleas, and Sir Robert Meredith, Knt., Chancellor of His Majesty's Court of Exchequer, and two of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the county of Dublin,*

Who, being sworn and examined, saith, that about the 10th of October, 1641, he, this examt., understood by a friar called Farrell Oge McAwarde, that there was a general purpose and resolution amongst the Papists and inhabitants of this kingdom to take up arms within a fortnight after, and then to seize on all the strongholds throughout the kingdom, which they purposed to retain, until they

might procure for themselves liberty of conscience, and free exercise of the Romish religion; unto which report he, this examt., gave the more credit, in regard he had observed the unusual and frequent meeting between the Lord Maguire, Sir Phelim Roe O'Neil, Knt., Turlogh Oge, McHugh Oge O'Hosie, and others of the chief of the country, and their followers. Whereupon he, this examt., made known the said discoveries to Sir William Cole, Knt. and this examt. further saith, that soon after, the Lord Maguire, going into Dublin, there to perform his part of the work, Rory Maguire, brother to the said Lord, went from the Castle of Crevenish, in the county of Fermanagh, over Logh Erne, and there he stirred up unto rebellion the Hosies, the Flanagans, and other septs of the Irish inhabiting that side of the Lough, of whom he took an oath that they should rise in rebellion with him, and directed the said septs to begin to fall upon, and spoil and pillage the English as soon as they saw the town of *Lisnarvy* (*sic*) on fire; which accordingly being set on fire on the 23d of October, 1641, by the said Rory, the said septs pillaged the British, and in particular the Lord Hastings' house, called Lisgoole. And this examt. saith, that upon the same day, Richard Nugent, who married the Lady Dowager of Inniskillen, Patrick (*blank*) McCaffry, and Phelim McCaffry, by the appointment of the said Rory, took possession of Mr. Hugh (*torn*) house, and town, in the said county of Fermanagh, called Archdalstown, and pillaged the said house and town, and afterwards placed a ward therein. And this examt. further saith, that amongst other cruelties and murders committed by the said Rory Maguire, and the septs of the Irish, in the county of Fermanagh about Christmas, 1641, the said Rory having given quarter to many of the British, who held the Castle of Tully, belonging to Sir George Hume, after the quarter so given, he, the said Rory, and his followers, first stripped, and then murdered, man, woman, and child, of them that came out upon the Castle upon quarter. And this examt. further saith, that about this time twelvemonth he received a letter from one O'Reily, titular Archbishop of Armagh, whereby he, this examt., was directed to repair unto the said Archbishop, there to take an oath of confederation, sent from the general assembly or council of the rebels at Kilkenny. But this examt. not appearing according to those directions, soon after the said Rory Maguire came unto him, this examt., and told him that he himself had brought the said oath from Kilkenny, and that the whole kingdom was to join therein. And in case any should refuse to take the same, the party

so refusing was to be despoiled of his estate and suffer death. And that for the execution thereof, there was an army appointed and raised. But this examt., being not satisfied with the contents of the said oath, desired time for three or four days to resolve himself the better, in which time he quitted his own habitation, and went unto Sir William Cole, with whom he has since remained. And this examt. further saith, that a true copy of the said oath, to the best of his memory, is contained in a paper now attested, under his this examt.'s hand, and delivered by him unto Sir Gerard Lowther and Sir Robert Meredith, and now annexed unto his examination. And lastly this examt. saith, that during the present rebellion he hath received several letters from Owen Roe O'Neil, Sir Phelim O'Neil, Philip Oge O'Reilly, and Hugh O'Connor, asking him, this examt., to come into confederacy and rebellion with them, which this examt. refused to do, and never answered any of their letters, but delivered the same to Sir William Cole, in whose possession they remain.

Note.

This deposition is an unsigned copy, but seems to be authentic, and it is in part confirmed by Sir William Cole's letter, (v. *ante*, p. 108). The deponent Brian Maguire was either the younger brother or nephew of Sir Hugh Maguire, slain by St. Leger, as already mentioned, and of Cuconnaght Maguire, who went into exile with Tyrone. Brian Maguire, according to Pinnar's Survey, had a grant of 2,000 acres, called Tempodessell, near Sir William Cole's grant of a thousand acres. According to John O'Donovan, quoted in a note at p. 492 of the Rev. G. Hill's 'History of the Plantation of Ulster,' the grandson of Brian Maguire, of Tempodessell, mortgaged his estate to raise and support a regiment for James II., and was killed at Aughrim. O'Donovan adds that the great-grandson of this gentleman killed at Aughrim was Hugh Maguire, of Tempo, 'one of the most puissant, high-minded, and accomplished gentlemen that ever came of the Maguire family. The editor (Dr. O'Donovan) was acquainted with many persons who knew him intimately, and were entertained at his hospitable and sumptuous table at Tempo. He mortgaged Tempo, and left his family in great distress. This hospitable gentleman's grandsons were reduced to the condition of common sailors on the coal vessels sailing between Dublin and the coast of Wales.' (*Note to Annals of Four Masters, edited by John O'Donovan, LL.D.* vol. vi. p. 236).

This sad history is only a too common one in Ireland, but there is something sadder still, and that is, the blind and foolish enthusiasm which does not see that the British government in the past or present is not accountable for the downfall of men of any class, creed, or race, in Ireland, who ruin themselves by senseless extravagance, and which styles such men, in grandiloquent phrase, 'high-minded and puissant.' A gentleman, who to gratify his egotistical vanity, love of 'sumptuous' feasting, and thirst for popularity, leaves his children and grandchildren paupers and coal-heavers, is the very reverse of 'high-minded,' and the sooner Irishmen acknowledge this truth, and lay it to heart, the better for themselves and their country. I am acquainted with two cases where the heads of old Irish families, who are supposed to have lost everything through the action of the penal laws and the Cromwellian settlement, were really ruined by their own extravagance and intemperance. Their sons might each at this day have been holding their own as though a Cromwellian settlement or penal code had never existed, if their forefathers in the last century and the beginning of this had had but common prudence. Yet it is the 'fashion' to suppose all their troubles are due to the British government.

LXXXIX.

Elizabeth Vawse, late of Craigstown, Longfield, in the county of Leitrim, widow, the relict of Robert Vawse, late (*illegible*) of Cargallon, in the same county, sworn and examined saith, that on or about the 24th day of October last, she, this deponent, was robbed, stripped, and despoiled of her goods and chattels, worth 78*l.*, by the rebels Laghlin Oge, of Killamartoghe, in the parish of Cargallon, gent., Owen MacShane, of Clancorry, gent., Con O'Rourke, of Corglasse, in the same county, gent., and divers others of their soldiers, accomplices, or tenants, whose names she cannot discover. And further saith, that the same rebels threatened this deponent, and others her neighbours, that if they did not depart away they would burn their houses. So as they were all enforced to fly away for Dublin. In which flight she, this deponent, and her three children, were by the rebels robbed and stripped of their clothes, and turned stark naked away, exposed to cold, hunger, and other wants, most unusual and insufferable to them, and met with such varieties of danger, threats, torturings, and evil treatment by the way, that

until their approach to Dublin they were still in most pitiful perplexity and danger of their lives. And now, she and her children, being robbed of all they had, are in Dublin in great want and misery. And further saith, that when this deponent asked the rebels why they robbed her, they asked again, 'Who sent you over here?' And being answered that God and the king did it, they the said rebels said, 'Let your king fetch you out of this again.' And saith further, that the said rebels burned down divers houses, and two children, and one old man in them. And that very many Protestants that fled for safety and succour to the castle of Sir James Craig, Knt., being near them, were there famished, starved, and died for want of means.

ELIZABETH + VAWSE.

Jurat. 9th Feb., 1641,
JOHN STERNE.
WM. HITCHCOCK.

XC.

The Examination of PETER CARTE, *of Droumgowny, in the parish of Baltia, in the county of Londonderry, gent., sworn and examined,*

Who saith and deposeth, that since the beginning of the present rebellion, that is to say, about the 20th of November, 1641, he, this deponent, was by force and arms deprived, robbed, or otherwise despoiled of his goods and chattels, consisting of corn, cattle, and household stuff, apparel and the profits of his farms, and had his houses burned, all of the value and to his loss of 400*l.* And further saith, that the parties and rebels who so despoiled him were Manus Roe O'Cahane, captain of the rebels, Albony Oge O'Cahan, another captain, and their soldiers, and other rebels, to the number of five or six hundred; Manus MacRichard O'Cahane, Lieutenant-Colonel Shane O'Cahane, Colonel Brian MacManus O'Cahane, his brothers Richard and Boy, both captains of rebels, Shane O'Mullan, MacGilladuffe, Brian McGilladuffe, and Art McGilladuffe Oge, all of Ballina, the next parish to Dungevin, in the county aforesaid, and Brian Oge O'Cahane, a captain of the rebels. And further saith, that the rebels aforesaid did also perpetrate and commit divers other outrages and cruelties, and killed many Protestants, his (this examt.'s) neighbours, by name, one Thomas Bunting, John Gardiner, Vaughan Morgan, and others. And the said Manus O'Cahane, in the beginning of the rebellion, being trusted by Sir John Vaughan and others to keep the castle of Dungevin, within the Skinners'

proportion, and they giving him the command of soldiers, arms, and ammunition for, and on behalf of his majesty, he, the said Manus, not long after falsified and betrayed his trust, and became the most cruel and bloody villain of all the rest. And this deponent further saith, that one James Farrell, a Papist, of Ballykelly, in the same county, having promised protection and favour to divers of the English, his neighbours, to make them stay in the county to betray them, did, about the 21st of November aforesaid, with the assistance of his bloody confederates, suddenly assault and set upon those English, and most barbarously slew and murdered them, viz. one Christopher Weekes, and his wife; Gabriel Small, and his wife and two children; Sidney Loftus, and two of his children; John Carte, John Jameson, and divers others, whose names he cannot remember. And saith also, that the parties hereinafter named are, or lately were, in open actions of rebellion, and committed divers outrages and cruelties, viz. Brian MacGagan, of Ballincartan, gent., and two or three of his sons, Shane Roe O'Mullan, Rory O'Moghery, of Ballikelly, yeoman, and others whose names this deponent cannot call to mind.

Jurat. 6th June, 1643,
Henry Brereton.
John Sterne.

Peter Carte.

XCI.

Ellen Matchett, relict of Daniel Matchett, late of Kilmore, in the county of Armagh, gentleman, sworn and examined saith, that in or about the month of October or November, 1641, this deponent's said husband and she were expelled, despoiled, robbed, or otherwise deprived of their goods and chattels, worth 1,307*l.* 10*s.* And this deponent further saith, that Joan Constable, this deponent's sister, at the same time and place was robbed and deprived by the rebels of ready money and apparel, amounting to 100*l.* And that (*illegible*) Matchett, gent., who was robbed and murdered by the rebels, owed at the time of his death to this deponent 140*l.*, and to her daughter, Dorothea Matchett, 40*l.*, which they are sure to lose by his death and his rebellion. And further saith, that the rebels that so deprived and despoiled this deponent and her children were these that follow, viz. Ardell O'Hanlon, of Donnyheald (*sic*), in the said county, and Shane Duff O'Hanlon, and divers others of that sept, whose names this deponent knoweth not, and also Patrick Modder O'Hagan, of Mulladry, in the same county, and divers more of that

name, and others, strangers, who murdered her said husband, and her mother and brethren. And that also the said M(*illegible*) Matchett was murdered by George Fleming, of the county of Tyrone, who forcibly also entered upon and claimed this deponent's husband's lands, and by others of the sept of the O'Neils. And that the rebels burned two of this deponent's Bibles, with the rest of her books. And further saith, that generally all the Irish Papists of the county of Armagh are in actual rebellion, from the oldest to those of very young years. And further saith, that after this deponent and her daughter were turned out of their own house, and stript of their clothes, they fled to the house of Mr. Michael Dunn, of Horkley, in the said county of Armagh, whose wife being an English gentlewoman and a constant Protestant, secretly entertained this deponent and her daughter, with other Protestants; yet there, as in the former places, they were often forced to hide themselves, neither Mr. Dunn nor any other daring to relieve them openly; nor dare this deponent and the rest be seen out, so that they were almost pined to death, having food so little and poor that they thought themselves very happy when they could get a few nettles and coarse weeds to eat, and sometimes to get the brains of a cow, dead of disease, boiled with nettles, which they accounted good fare but indeed the hunger, cold, and misery they endured is unspeakable; the least part of which, as it was mixed with the murder of all their friends and kindred, they could not have endured and lived, but that God Almighty gave them still extraordinary strength and patience, and when He gave them not meat, He took away their hunger. And further saith, that such was the suffering of that poor gentlewoman, Mrs. Dunn, for her religion, that one of her own daughters, by name Theresa, a young girl, said she hoped ere long that some of the Irish would give her mother a swing for her religion. And further saith, that little children of the rebels, if they could but speak and go, would hold up skeans against the English, and say they would kill them if they would not give them their money. And this deponent hath been credibly told by divers, both Irish and English, that fourscore and ten stripped and naked Protestant people, that had crept into an outhouse for shelter and safety of their lives, had the house set on fire on every side, and were forcibly kept therein, and were turned and thrust back into the fire, as they offered to come out of the flames, until they were all burnt to death and consumed. And although this deponent was about a mile from that house so burned, with those poor martyred Protestants, yet she

plainly saw the flames thereof, and is sure that it and the people were burned and consumed together. And this deponent was credibly told that one Manus O'Cahan, who lived near Loughgall, begged for his breakfast the heads of all the Protestants of Sir Phelim Roe O'Neil, and that his request was granted and she verily believeth the same to be true; for at that very time great numbers of poor Protestants were by the rebels driven like herds of sheep, and some burned, some drowned, some hanged, and the rest murdered and massacred in the most barbarous and infamous manner, and the calamities and sufferings of the said poor Protestants were so frequent, that at length this deponent was so overfrighted and scared as to grow almost insensible thereof. And further saith, that after her mother and her brother were mortally wounded, and before they were dead, this deponent, with her husband and daughter, flying away to save their lives; being indeed miraculously preserved by a mastiff dog that set upon these slaughtering and bloody rebels that pursued them; she, this deponent, did at night return again, and found her mother so wounded as aforesaid and this deponent caused one of her company to carry her as far as he could, but when he was able to carry her no further, and that no harbour, sure relief, or comfort could be procured for her, and the enemy being near at hand, this deponent's said poor wounded mother, more tendering this deponent, her husband and child, rather than her own life, earnestly persuaded them to go away and leave her to die there, rather than they should stay to be slaughtered by the rebels. Whereupon this deponent and her husband, to their unspeakable grief, were forced to leave their wounded, bleeding mother there, where she died, on a cold mountain, and to fly away to save their lives. And it was the common talk of all the Irish thereabouts that Sir Phelim O'Neil was king of Ireland, and they usually prayed fo him by that name.

ELLEN + MATCHETT.

Jurat. 3*rd September,*
JOHN WATSON.
WM. ALDRICH.

Note.

The unfortunate deponent's brain, as indeed she tells us, was confused and weakened by her sufferings and the terrible scenes she had witnessed. But here, again, her exaggerations ought not to make us doubt all that she relates, especially as it is in great part confirmed by persons of stronger nerves and calmer judgment.

Lord Mahon, in his interesting account of the Scotch rebellion of 1745, tells us that a respectable, poor woman in the north of England, in whose house Lochiel and his Highland soldiers took up their quarters, locked up her children in a cellar, being firmly persuaded that he would kill and devour them, and that her fears were shared by more than one of her neighbours. Yet no magistrate of that day would have thought of rejecting her testimony as to the march of the Scotch through the town where she lived because her notions of their semi-savagery were absurd and exaggerated. Mrs. Dunn or Doyne, mentioned in Ellen Matchett's deposition, was daughter of Sir George Sexton, Knt. Her husband, Michael Doyne, was tried by the High Court of Justice after 1650 for the murder of James Hamilton, Esq. An immense number of depositions were taken in this case, and the accused sent in several long petitions. He was found 'Guilty,' but his life appears to have been spared. All the documents relating to this trial are amongst the College MSS.

XCII.

Dr. Robert Maxwell, *Rector of Tinane, in the county of Armagh, sworn and examined.*

And first touching the nature of the rebellion deposeth and saith, that (to begin higher than the 22d of October, 1641) at the coming in of the Scots to Newcastle, he observed Sir Phelemy O'Neale, Tirlogh Oge O'Neale, his brother, Robert Hovenden, Esq., deceased, and generally all his Popish neighbours overjoyed, and at their peaceable disbanding as much cast down and dejected, calling the English base, degenerate cowards, and the Scots dishonourable braggadocios, who came into England not to fight, but to scrape up wealth, merchandising their honours for a sum of money. But he, this deponent, did not much heed those distempered speeches, as everywhere rife in those days, and as proceeding from bankrupt and discontented gentlemen and the rather, because many in Ireland at that time (measuring the Scots' laws by their own) accounted the Scots' subjection not much better than rebellion (although since by the event their judgments are now rectified), yet he asked what they meant, to be thus sad at good news, but joyful at evil? They said, if the two kingdoms had gone by the ears, they hoped the Earl of Strafford (whose government had been most avaricious

and tyrannical) would in regard of his forwardness have perished in the combustion, but this, he, the deponent, thought not worth the informing, because, what they said, most men thought. From the disbanding of the Scots until the breaking out of the present rebellion, he observed frequent and extraordinary meetings of priests and friars almost everywhere, under colour of visitations, and at the first sermons of friars, to the number of two or three thousand in a company would usually meet together for a twelvemonth before the rebellion. The aforesaid gentlemen, and others of the same stamp, borrowed what sums of money they possibly could from the British, and often without any apparent necessity. Neither did it afterwards appear what they did with the money, so borrowed, for they would not pay any man a penny. And the deponent further saith, that in April, 1641, there went a report amongst the Irish, the deponent's next neighbours, that the Earl of Tyrone was seen with Sir Phelemy O'Neale in the wood of Ballynametash, but upon examination they denied it; yet since the rebellion they told the deponent that a great man out of Spain was at that time with him, but they would not name him, and about three years before that, one, Priest MacCasie, came from Rome with the Pope's bull for the parish of Tyrone, and being kept out by Sir Phelemy, talked freely of a rebellion plotted and intended by him and others. He went to Dublin to inform the Lord-Deputy thereof, by whom being examined, he either said nothing to the purpose, or was not believed, or it was taken off by Sir Phelemy. And further saith that Sir Phelemy O'Neale, a little before the rebellion, brought two hogsheads of gunpowder from Dublin, under colour of wine, by Patrick O'Dougherty, vintner of Kynard. He brought a great part thereof by ten or twelve pounds in the names of most of the gentlemen in the county. This he bragged of to the deponent afterwards. And that he likewise told this deponent when the Lord MacGuire and other rebels were taken in Dublin, his man James Warren and Friar Paul O'Neale were apprehended amongst them, having sent them thither a little before to assist and attend the issue of the business, but said that, upon examination at council table, they were both dismissed, contrary to his expectation; he said also that some lord or other spake for them.

This deponent further saith, that he heard Sir Phelemy O'Neale (upon his first return from Strabane) say, that this plot was in his head five or six years before he could bring it to maturity, but said that after it was concluded by the Parliament (meaning the Popish party) he was one of the last men to whom it was com-

municated; he said likewise, that to bring about his own ends he had formerly demeaned himself as a fool in all great men's company, but that he hoped, by that time, the greatest of them saw, that Sir Phelim O'Neale was no such fool as they took him for. And further saith, that he, this deponent, heard Sir Phelemy's brother Tirlogh Oge O'Neale say, that this business (meaning rebellion) was communicated by the Irish Committee (meaning the Popish Irish) unto the Papists in England, who promised their assistance, and that by their advice some things formerly resolved upon were altered; saying it was a good omen, and undoubted sign of divine approbation, that the parliament here should send over a committee, the major part whereof were Papists. He also affirmed that when the Protestants of the Lower House in Ireland withdrew themselves apart into Chichester Hall,[1] the Papists at the same time (never dreaming the deponent should live to tell it again) debated, concluded, and signed a combinatory writing of this rebellion, under their hands in the Tolbooth or Toll Sille (*sic*), which he said that secession drew on and hastened sooner than it was intended. And when the deponent answered, that the Papists, in all former parliaments (which either of them had seen) usually, and without exception, consulted apart as often as they pleased, he replied, in great choler, '*But so never did the Protestants before.*' And this deponent further saith, that on December 19th, 1641, he, the deponent, heard Sir Phelemy in his own house, and in the hearing of Mr. Joseph Travers and others say, that if the lords and gentlemen (meaning Popish) of the other provinces, then not in arms, would not rise but leave him in the lurch for all, he would produce his warrant signed with their hands, and written in their own blood, that should bring them to the gallows, and that they sat every day at council board, and whispered the lords justices in the ear, who were as deep in that business as himself. And saith also, that on the third day after this rebellion began, Turlogh Oge O'Neale's wife (a most bloody woman and natural daughter to the Earl of Antrim) told this deponent that all Ireland was in the same case with Ulster, for said she, 'My brother the Earl of Antrim hath taken the castle and city of Dublin, having lately removed thither for the same purpose, and not to please the Duchess (as was given out), and my brother, Alexander MacDonell (according to the general appointment), hath taken the town and Castle of Carrickfergus.' He, the deponent, then asked what they meant to do with those whom they had dis-

[1] That is, in the Parliament of 1613.

armed and pillaged. She said, as long as their preservation should be deemed consistent with the public safety, they should enjoy their lives, when otherwise, better their enemies perish, than themselves (which was but very cold comfort to a freshman prisoner). And also saith that Sir Phelemy O'Neale told this deponent in December last, that his stock in money amounted to 80,000*l.* sterling, wherewith he said he was able to maintain an army for one year, though all shifts else failed. And that Captain Alexander Hovenden told him that, as soon as his brother Sir Phelemy was created Earl of Tyrone, and Great O'Neale, he wrote letters and sent them by friars to the Pope and Kings of Spain and France, but would not discover the contents.

And further saith, that about the first of March last, the said Alexander told the deponent that the friars of Drogheda by Father Thomas (brother to the Lord of Slane) had the second time invited Sir Phelemy thither, and offered to betray the town unto him, by making or discovering (the deponent knoweth not whether) a breach in the wall, through which he might march six men abreast. The deponent saw the friar at the same time in Armagh, whom Sir Phelemy took by the hand, and brought to the deponent saying, 'This is the friar that said mass at Finglasse upon Sunday morning, and in the afternoon did beat Sir Charles Coote at Swords.' 'I hope,' said the friar, 'to say mass in Christchurch, Dublin, within eight weeks.' And further deposeth, that he, this deponent, asked many, both of their commanders and friars, what chiefly moved them to take up arms; they said, 'Why may not we as well and better fight for religion which is the substance, than the Scots did for ceremonies?' (which are but shadows) and that my Lord of Strafford's government was intolerable. The deponent answered, that that government, how insupportable soever, was indifferent, and lay not heavier on them than on him and the rest of the British Protestants. They replied that the deponent and the rest of the British were no considerable part of the kingdom, and that over and above all this, they were certainly informed, that the parliament of England had a plot to bring them all to Church, or to cut off all the Papists in the king's dominions, in England by the English Protestants (or as they call them Puritans), in Ireland by the Scots. And further deposeth, that he asked (as seeming very careful of their safety) what hope of aid they had and from whence, as also what discreet and able men they had to employ as agents to their friends beyond the sea. They said, if they held out this

next winter, they were sure and certain in the spring to received aid from the Pope, France and Spain. And that the clergy of Spain had already contributed five thousand arms and powder for a whole year, then in readiness. They said their best and only agents were their priests and friars, but especially the aforenamed Paul O'Neale, upon whose coming with advice from Spain they presently opened the war, and that since the war began in the very dead of winter, he both went with letters and returned with instructions from Spain in one month, professing the good cause had suffered much prejudice if he had been hanged in Dublin.

And this deponent further saith, that he demanded why sometimes they pretended a commission from the king, at other times from the queen, since all wise men knew that the king would not grant a commission against himself, and the queen could not. They, being commanders and friars, said that it was lawful for them to pretend what they could, in advancement of their cause; that many of the garrison soldiers now their prisoners, whom they determined to employ in the war, and to train others, would not serve them in regard of their oath, unless they were made so to believe; that, in all wars, rumours and lies served many times to as good purpose as arms, and that they would not disclaim any advantage. But they said for the queen (in regard, as a catholic, she had enemies enough already) they would command their priests publicly at mass to discharge the people from speaking of her as a cause or an abettor of the present troubles. And the deponent also asked Sir Phelemy O'Neale what his demands were, without which his lordship and the rest would not lay down arms. At first he told this deponent that they required only liberty of conscience, but afterwards, as his power, so his demands were multiplied. They must have no Lord Deputy, great officers of State, Privy Councillors, judges, or justices of peace, but of the Irish nation. No standing army in the kingdom. All tithes payable by Papists to be paid to Popish priests. Church lands to be restored to their bishops. All plantations since *Primo Jacobi*, to be disannulled, none made hereafter. No payments of debts due to the British, or restitution of anything taken in the war. All fortifications and strengths to be in the hands of the Irish, with power to erect and build more if they thought fit. All strangers (meaning British) to be restrained from coming over. All Acts of Parliament against Popery and Papists, together with Poyning's Act, to be repealed, and the Irish parliament to be made independent but saith, that others told him that although all these demands were granted, yet Sir Phelemy, for his own part, was

resolved not to lay down arms unless his majesty would confirm unto him the earldom of Tyrone, with all the ancient patrimony and privileges belonging to the O'Neales. And further saith, that in March, 1641, Alexander Hovenden (by Sir Phelimy's directions) sent from the camp before Drogheda a prophecy said to be found in the abbey of Kells, importing that Tyrone (or Sir Phelemy, after the conquest and settlement of Ireland) should fight five set battles in England, in the last whereof he should be killed upon Dunsmore heath, but not before he had driven king Charles with his whole posterity out of England, who should be thereafter *Pro fugi in terra aliena in æternum.* The paper itself, with the deponent's whole library, to the value of seven or eight hundred pounds, was lately burnt by the Scots, under the conduct of the Lord Viscount Mountgomery. Since that prophecy, the deponent saith, he hath often seen Captain Tirlogh McBrian O'Neale (a great man in the county of Armagh), with many others, no mean commanders, drink healths upon the knee to Sir Phelemy O'Neale, Lord General of the Catholic army in Ulster, Earl of Tyrone, and king of Ireland, but the deponent professeth *in verbo Christiani* he did never pledge that health, although sometimes he shifted it with hazard of his life, if he had been observed. And this deponent further saith, that Art Oge O'Neale, his eldest son (whose name if it be not Art he hath forgotten now), and of a long time a captain, and one of the stoutest rebels in the county of Armagh, was (as he told the deponent) in Dublin at school, and dieted at an alderman's house (whose name he also doth not remember) in the beginning of the rebellion, and that being found in Dublin the alderman aforesaid became bound at council board in 1,000*l.* for his forthcoming, but afterwards, seeing how business sorted, he came unto this young man and said: 'Boy, get you gone and shift for yourself!' 'Alas!' said he, 'Sir, you are bound for me in 1,000*l.*' 'No matter, boy,' said he, 'I must lose that, and many thousands more,' whereupon, he saith, he fled upon foot and escaped to the army about Drogheda that same night. And further saith, that in May, 1642, Captain Walter White told to Edward Bleeke (an Englishman) and the deponent in Mrs. Hovenden's garden that, amongst others, Roger Moore or More, and Brian O'Neale were designed to take and man the postern door of the Castle of Dublin, and that he was in Dublin and himself of the plot, that told them this of his own knowledge. It may be inquired if there were any more Brian O'Neales in town at that time than one. The deponent durst not ask what Brian he meant.

And further saith, that Turlogh Oge O'Neale told him in Armagh,

three or four days before the Irish army went to Strabane, that the Lady of Strabane had, by letters, invited Sir Phelemy thither, assuring him that the town should be betrayed unto him, or yielded (he knoweth not whether). And Sir Phelemy himself, at his return from taking Strabane, told him the same over again; yet he said when he came to the castle, to avoid suspicion, they shot ten or twelve shots over him. He told the deponent likewise, that nothing withstood his present marriage with the said lady, but the want of a dispensation (impetrable from their Lord Primate) for a vow which she made not to marry for three years to come. He said also, that at his entrance into the castle, the lady's priest (a Scotch Jesuit) exacted and ministered a oath unto him, that he and those his noble cavaliers came thither for the propagation of the Catholic faith, and not in any way to violate the lady; since it is reported very credibly that they are married. Captain Alexander Hovenden told this deponent, that when Sir Phelemy brought her to Kinard from her own castle of Strabane, she did pray him to burn and raze it, lest thereafter it might be useful to the Scots and was of opinion Sir Phelemy did very ill in neglecting so good advice. The deponent and the rest of the British expected much favour by her means, but immediately after her coming to these parts, the sword was let fly amongst them afresh; whether at her entreaty or not the deponent cannot affirm. More the deponent hath heard, but because it is not treason, and she is a lady nobly descended, he will not publish it.

And further the deponent saith, that in March last a footman of the Earl of Antrim's was denied lodging (as was reported) by Mrs. Hovenden, Sir Phelemy's mother, which gave much occasion of discourse in that country. And that he heard Dr. Daly say, that Sir Phelemy would never have undertaken the province of Ulster, if he had not been persuaded that the said earl would have taken up arms as soon as himself and he himself hath heard others say that his approbation of the business was as much as theirs, but that when it came to action he durst not show his face in the field for fear of discomposing his clothes and that Owen McClymon, at his parting from the earl in March last (as himself reported to divers in the country) told him that the common cause suffered by his non-concurrence, but he replied, the business was already spoiled, especially in Ulster, by bloodshed and robbery, and that he would not declare himself either one way or other, until after May day following. And the deponent hath heard many of the rebels

call Sir Phelemy a confident fool, for letting him go, when he was taken prisoner by the captain of Charlemont; saying that he deserved to lose his head for some words he spake going through Armagh about the last of April, or first of May last, viz. that he saw nothing amongst them but desolation and execrable cruelty, for which God's wrath and the king's just revenge hung over their heads, and would very speedily overtake them. As he rode through the parish of Derenoose he would very gladly (although the deponent is a stranger unto him) have seen him, the said deponent, but could not procure the friars, his guides, to send a messenger for him. They were afraid (as some of them told him afterwards) that he would have rescued the deponent, but he, the deponent, thinketh they more feared lest he might have laboured to divert his lordship from joining with them, which was then presently expected; so that a man can see no part of this tragedy wherein there is not a devil, or a friar, or both.

And the deponent further saith, that he was certainly informed by the chief of the O'Donellies and O'Lappans, and many others, whereof some were very near unto Sir Phelemy, and it is generally reported in those parts where the deponent lived, that Mrs. May, widow to Mr. Edward May, late of Dublin (a mere Irish woman whom the gentleman long kept for his fancy, and thereafter married out of conscience) is, and was ever since this rebellion began, Sir Phelemy's chief and unsuspected intelligencer; that he addressed all his packets sent to Dublin unto her, and by her means, and for the most part by Owen McClymen aforesaid, and other of her servants received answers. Perhaps the truth may be found out by a sudden search for letters or unexpected examination of her and her servants apart. And also saith, that he hath heard many of the rebels say amongst themselves, that they feared nothing so much as the corrupting and spoiling of their harvest, and that if General Monroe had put three thousand men in the towns of Armagh, Dunganon, and Monaghan before they were burnt, he had made himself absolute master of all the corn in three counties, without which they could not possibly subsist this winter. And saith, moreover, that Sir Phelemy O'Neale and his deputed lieutenants and governors, in all their commissions, passes and warrants, leave out these words, 'In his Majesty's name,' yet, if any be tendered by the British in the old style, they seldom, except against them, *eo nomine*, and as seldom sign them. And the deponent also saith, that the last who were devoured were apostates

through fear and revolters to Popery, who, though but a very handful, yet such was their (the rebels') insatiable thirst of blood they could not spare them.

And further saith, that it was credibly told him that the rebels (lest they should hereafter be charged with more murders than they had committed) commanded their priests to bring in a true account of them, and that the persons so slaughtered (whether in Ulster only or the whole kingdom, the deponent durst not inquire) in March last amounted unto 154,000. Sir Phelemy O'Neale asked the deponent very scornfully once in Armagh, and in the hearing of many, 'Why the Scots in so many weeks came not to relieve or revenge the death of their countrymen?' The deponent durst not reply to this, so dangerous a question; but one that stood by said, that they did wisely to stay until his lordship made them more elbow room. This riddle was soon after interpreted, upon the march of the Scottish army from the Newry back to Carrickfergus, by the bloody massacre of above five thousand of the British in three days.

About two hundred persons, within seven weeks after that, were relieved by the Lord Conway's army sent for the same purpose, so that the deponent doth confidently say, that now of all the Royal plantation in Ulster there doth not remain alive two hundred more amongst the rebels. And further saith, that a nephew of Art Oge O'Neale, brother to Henry O'Neale, Lord of the Fues, told him, this deponent, that his uncle, the said Art, had but one Scotchman upon his land, and that about two days foregoing he gave directions to have him murdered, thereby to give Sir Phelemy a proof of his zeal in the common cause, from which there was a suspicion he meant to revolt. And further saith, that there went a common report amongst the Irish in Armagh, that the bishop of Derry had undertaken to betray the town of Derry unto Sir Phelemy O'Neale, which he, remembering, or being put in mind thereof, at Strabane (as he told the deponent upon his return), he resolved from thence to have written unto him a letter, promising to be with him such a night, and desiring admittance at the gate appointed. 'This letter,' said he, 'I intended to send by a prisoner, with whom upon search, finding this letter, the Scots without more examination would have cut the bishop into collops,' but he said somewhat put this project out of his head. He may in time do as much for others, as then he intended to do for the bishop, wherefore the deponent thought this passage not unworthy the inserting.

And this deponent further saith, that Turlogh Oge O'Neale, then Governor of Armagh, caused an English ditcher to be killed upon proof made, that he should say he was a better preacher than James Usher, Primate of Armagh. This he did (as he said) to suppress Brownism in his government. And further saith, that amongst the rebels he hath seen some laugh and wonder at the English for keeping their word or protections given to the Irish, and some said in mockery that this was a secret confession of the Protestants that the Papists were not heretics.

And for some instances of extreme cruelty used by the Irish in Ulster, the deponent saith, that by special command from Sir Phelemy O'Neale they dragged the deponent's brother, Lieutenant James Maxwell, out of his bed in the rage and height of a burning fever, and lest any of his acquaintances or friends should bury him they carried him two miles from any church, and there cruelly butchered him, when he knew neither what he did or said. And thus Sir Phelemy paid him 260*l.*, which he owed him, and that his wife Grisell Maxwell being in childbirth, the child half-born and half-unborn, they stripped stark naked, and drove her about an arrow flight to the Blackwater and drowned her. The like they did to another Englishwoman in the same parish, in the beginning of the rebellion, which was little inferior (if not more unnatural and barbarous) than the roasting of Mr. Watson alive, after they had cut a collop out of either buttock. That a Scotchwoman was found in the Glyn wood lying dead. . . . That Mr. Starkie, schoolmaster at Armagh, a gentleman of good parentage and parts, being upwards of one hundred years of age, they stripped naked, caused two of his daughters—virgins—being likewise naked, to support him under each arm, not being able to go of himself, and in that posture carried them all three a quarter of a mile to a turf-pit, and drowned them, feeding the lust of their eyes and the cruelty of their hearts with the self-same objects at the same time.

At the siege of Augher they would not kill any English beast, and then eat it, but they cut collops out of them being alive, letting them there roar till they had no more flesh upon their backs, so that sometimes a beast would live two or three days together in that torment. The like they did at Armagh.

When they murdered Hugh Echline, Esq., they hanged all his Irish servants which had any ways proved faithful or useful unto him during this rebellion. And as touching exemplary constancy

in religion, the deponent saith, that Henry Cowell, Esq., a gallant and well-bred gentleman, was murdered because he would not consent to marry a beastly trull, Mary ny Neale (a near kinswoman of Sir Phelemy's). He was proffered his life without the blowse, if he would have gone to mass, but he chose rather to die than to do either. There was made the like proffer of life for going to mass, unto Robert Echline, son to the above-named Hugh Echline, a child of eleven or twelve years of age, but he also refused it, saying he saw nothing in their religion for which he would change his own.

And the deponent further saith that his and the rest of the British' chief and best friends amongst the rebels was, Mrs. Katherine Hovenden, widow, mother to Sir Phelemy O'Neale; she preserved twenty-four English and Scots in her own house, and fed them for thirty-seven weeks, out of her own store, and when her children took her away upon the approach of an army, she left both them and this deponent to their liberty, and gave them free leave to escape. Many more she would have saved, but that while she lay sick ten weeks of an ague, none of them were suffered to come near her. She swooned twice (as was told) when she heard that fifty-six were taken out of the deponent's house and murdered in one day. She used often to say she had never offended the English, except in being mother to Sir Phelemy. And Captain Alexander Hovenden, son to Mrs. Hovenden, and half-brother to Sir Phelemy, conducted thirty-five English out of Armagh to Drogheda (whereof some were of good quality) when it was thought he had secret directions to have murdered them, twenty more he sent safe to the Newry, and would trust no other convoy than himself. It is to be observed that all others perished under colour of convoys, except only those whom he undertook. At the deponent's request he saved Armagh twice from burning, and would have saved it the third time, but that he lay sick of a fever. When he beheld the ruins thereof, but especially of the church ('tis said) he wept bitterly, saying, who will ever trust the Irish again who have neither kept their promises to God, nor protections to men? When he saw Sir Phelemy's warrant for the last general massacre, after the taking of the Newry, he solemnly swore he would never draw his sword again in Sir Phelimy's quarrel, or this cause, cursing (in his passion) the British, if ever they spared Irish man, woman, or child. He was desirous to submit himself to the king's mercy upon the Lord Mountgomery his protection, offering to root that

bloody sept of the O'Hughes, with his own followers and arms out of Ireland, but the motion was rejected (perhaps worse will be admitted) he never had his hand in blood out of battle, that this deponent knoweth. He is not yet (which may plead some favour) full twenty-two years of age, and doth not pretend to one foot of inheritance. Dr. Daly preached so vehemently against murdering, that in the end he was forced to fly for safeguard of his life. Patrick Kelly and Gilduffe MacTinny would suffer nothing robbed from the British to come within their doors.

And this deponent further saith, that the rebels buried many of the British Protestants alive, and took great pleasure to hear them speak unto them as they digged down old ditches upon them. Except those whom they thus buried, they, the rebels, buried none of the Protestants, neither would permit any who survived to perform that duty for them. And further saith, that the rebels would send their children abroad armed with long wattles and whips to attack defenceless people. . . . And further saith, that many of the Protestants the rebels would not kill outright, but would leave them half dead entreating for a favour to be killed outright, which was sometimes granted, sometimes denied. A youth having his backbone broken was found in a field, having like a beast eaten the grass round about him; the deponent could not learn that they killed him, but that they removed him to a place of better pasture, so that in these most bloody and execrable wretches, the word of Holy Gospel is clearly verified, 'the very mercy of the wicked is cruelty.' And further saith, that the rebels themselves told him, this deponent, that they murdered 954 in one morning in the county of Antrim, and that besides them they suppose that they killed above 1,100 or 1,200 more in that county. They told him likewise that Colonel Brian O'Neale killed about a thousand in the county of Down, besides three hundred killed near Killeleagh, and many hundreds both before and after in both these counties. At Sir Phelim's return from Lisnegarvy, some of his soldiers forced about twenty-four British into a house, where they burned them alive, whose terrible outcries they delighted very much to imitate, and express unto others, and saith that he heard Sir Phelim likewise report that he killed six hundred English at Garvagh, in the county of Derry, and that he had neither left man, woman, nor child alive in the barony of Munturlony, in the county of Tyrone, and that betwixt Armagh and the Newry in the several lands and plantations of Sir Arch. Atcheson, John Hamilton, Esq., the Lord Caulfield, and the Lord Mountnorrice. And saith also

that there were above two thousand of the British murdered in their own houses for the most part, and that he was informed hereof by a Scotchman, who was in those parts with Sir Phelim, and saw their houses filled with their dead bodies. In the Glen wood towards Dromore, there were slaughtered (as the rebels told the deponent) upwards of twelve hundred in all, who were all killed in their flight to the county of Down.

The number of people drowned at the bridge of Portadowne is diversely reported, according as men stayed amongst the rebels. The deponent (who stayed as long as any, and had better intelligence than most of the English amongst them) had best reason to know the truth, and saith, there were by their own report one hundred and ninety drowned with Mr. Fullerton. At another time, they threw one hundred and forty over the said bridge, at another time thirty-six or thirty-seven; and so continued drowning every day, more or fewer, for seven or eight weeks; so that the fewest which can be supposed there to have perished must needs be above a thousand, besides as many more drowned, betwixt that bridge and the great Lough of Mountjoy, besides those who perished by the sword, fire, and famine in Clanbrasill, and the English plantation adjacent, which, in regard there escaped not three hundred out of all those quarters, must needs amount to many thousands.

Near unto the deponent's own house thirty-six persons were thrown from the Curr bridge at one time, at another time eighteen or nineteen, at another time fifty-six men, women, and children (all of them being taken out of the deponent's own house), and at several other times several other numbers, besides those who were drowned in the Blackwater at Kynard, in which town and parish of Tynane (whereof the deponent was rector) there were drowned, slaughtered, and died of famine and for want of clothes, about six hundred. And saith he might add to these many thousands more, but the diary (which he the deponent wrote amongst the rebels) being burnt with his house, books, and all his papers, he referreth himself to the number in gross, which the rebels themselves have upon inquiry found out, and acknowledge, which notwithstanding will come short of all that have been murdered in Ireland (there being above 154,000 now wanting of the British), within the very precinct of Ulster. And the deponent further saith, that it was common table talk amongst the rebels that the ghosts of Mr. William Fullerton, Timothy Jephes, and the most of those who were thrown over Portadowne bridge, were daily and nightly seen to walk upon the river

sometimes singing of psalms, sometimes brandishing of naked swords, and sometimes screeching in a most hideous and fearful manner. The deponent did not believe the same at first, and yet is doubtful whether to believe it or not, but saith that divers of the rebels assured him that they themselves did dwell near to the said river, and being daily affrighted with those apparitions, but especially with their horrible screeching, were in conclusion forced to remove further into the country. Their own priests and friars could not deny the truth thereof, but as oft as it was by the deponent objected unto them, said that it was but a cunning sleight of the devil to hinder this great work of propagating the Catholic faith, and killing of heretics, or that it was wrought by witchcraft. The deponent himself lived within thirteen miles of that bridge, and never heard any man so much as doubt of the truth thereof. Howsoever, the deponent obligeth no man's faith, in regard he saw it not with his own eyes. Otherwise he had as much certainty as morally could be required of such a matter.

And the deponent further saith, that the degenerated pale English were most cruel amongst the British Protestants, being beaten from their own lands, and were never satisfied with their blood until they had in a manner seen the last drop thereof; affrighting Sir Phelemy O'Neale every day with their numbers, and persuading him that while they (meaning the Protestants) lived there would neither be room for them nor safety for him. It was easy to spur on the cowardly bloody rebel, yet no sooner were the Protestants cut off, but, contrary to their expectation, the mere Irish took present possession of their lands and houses, whereat they very much grumbled, and said Sir Phelemy had not kept promise with them; howsoever, they were forced to swallow these and many other injuries. And further saith, that he knew one boy near unto himself, not exceeding fourteen years of age, who killed at Kynard in one night fifteen able strong men with his skean, they being disarmed, and most of their feet in the stocks; another not above twelve years of age killed two women and one man at the siege of the Augher. A woman tenant to the deponent killed seven men and women of her English fellow-tenants in one morning, and it was very usual in all parts for their children to murder the Protestants' children, and sometimes, with lath swords heavy and well sharpened, they would venture upon men and women of riper year cruelties not to be believed if there were not so many eye-witnesses of them. And the deponent further saith, that the first three days and nights of this

present rebellion, viz. October 23rd, and 24th, and 25th, it was generally observed that no cock crew or any dog was heard to bark, no, not when the rebels came in great multitudes unto the Protestants' houses by night, to rob and murder them. And about three or four nights before the fifty-six persons were taken out of the deponent's house and drowned, and amongst those the deponent's brother, Lieutenant James Maxwell, in the dark of the moon about one of the clock at night, a light was observed, in manner of a long pillar, to shine for a long way through the air, and refracted upon the north gable of the house, gave so great a light about an hour together, that divers of the watch read both letters and books of a very small character thereby. The former the deponent knoweth to be most true, both by his own experience and the general observation of as many as the deponent met with within the county of Armagh. The latter was seen by all those of the deponent's family, and besides by many of his Irish guard (for some of them at that time were drunk and could see nothing), who interpreted the same to be an immediate expression and token of Divine providence, and watchfulness of the Protestants, affirming that many times the rebels had a purpose to destroy the deponent and his family, but were always hindered and interrupted, but which way themselves could not tell. But the deponent (as is well known) made a far contrary interpretation thereof, which shortly after fell out to be the truer of the two, for presaging thereby that bloody massacre which ensued. The deponent with the rest of his family gave themselves to fasting and prayer, expecting each hour that universal cutting off which fell out very shortly after.

ROB. MAXWELL.

Deposed 22nd August, 1642,
JOHN WATSON.
WILL. ALDRICH.

The further information of the REV. ROB. MAXWELL, *taken 2nd July*, 1643.

And further saith, that the rebels having exposed the murdered bodies of the British so long to the public view and censure that they began to taint the air, which commonly (a thing very strange) would not happen until three or four weeks after the murder was committed, they usually permitted some of the bodies to be removed and cast into ditches, but so that they must ever be laid with their faces

downwards. The reason whereof this deponent, not understanding, asked the rebels themselves what they meant thereby, who readily answered, that they so placed them to the intent they might have only a prospect and sight of hell. And therefore when they killed any they used always these words, '*Hanuniam Diaoul!*' which is Irish for '*Your soul to the devil!*' And this deponent further saith, that notwithstanding all the moderation formerly pretended, by the before-mentioned Alexander Hovendon, and the many real favours done him by many of the British, and in particular to this deponent, yet he hath many times heard him say and swear that he wished all those damned body and soul who were against them in this cause. Further, this deponent saith that it was usual sport with one MacMahon, captain of the castle and town of Monaghan, as the said MacMahon confessed before Mr. Hugh Echlin and many others, to take a wooden pike, or broach, and thrust it into the bowels of an English or Scottish man. . . . And it is further undeniable truth, that the said MacMahon and other rebels in the castle of Monaghan, after a great feast there, took an English or Welsh man, and bound him naked upon the table at which they drank after dinner, and at every health they drank gave him a slash or wound, but not mortal, until his whole body became as it were one great wound, and thereafter flung him out upon a dunghill, where he died, partly of his wounds, partly of famine, none daring to relieve him.

Robert Maxwell.

Will. Aldrich.
John Watson.

XCIII.

The information of Nicholas Combe, *sometime of Dungannon, in the county of Tyrone, gent., given in upon the 4th of June,* 1653 (*before Colonel Thomas Herbert and James Standish, Esq., members of the High Court of Justice, sitting at Dublin*), *who*

Informeth and upon oath saith, that he hath often heard one Turlogh Grome O'Quin, of Moneynagore (*sic*), in the county of Tyrone, confess that he was an actor in the first raising of this horrid rebellion in Ireland, and that he, with his servants and followers, or some of them, surprised and took the castle of (*illegible*), *alias* Mount Stewart, and burned the same, and likewise that he and his followers, or some of them, surprised and took the garrison, fort, and castle of Mountjoy upon the 23rd of October, 1641

in which garrison he confessed there was one (blank) Williams and Margery his wife, with old Sergeant Roe killed, not in the town or garrison, but led forth by them and there massacred, justifying the fact (as he confessed it) and alleging it was well done, because they gave ill language to Sir Phelim O'Neil, but whether the said murder was committed by the advice, consent, or command of the said Turlogh Grome O'Quin, or with his privity and consent, this informant is not able to depose, or whether the said Turlogh Grome had any hand in executing one Brownlow Taylor in Charlemont he is not able to inform; or how he used one Frances the wife of one John Morris, being the daughter of Mr. Roger Blyth, minister of Dungannon (who was murdered by the Irish soldiers), whom he took away from her husband, and kept as a prisoner for the space of eleven or twelve months (at the least), she can best evidence, but this informant knoweth not, and more he informeth not.

NICHOLAS COMBE.

Sworn 4th June, 1653, *at Dublin before us*,

THO. HERBERT.

JAMES STANDISH.

Note.

The following instructions, written at foot of the original deposition, show the care exercised to sift and obtain confirmation of evidence:—

'Let Mr. Michael Harrison be examined, as also Captain Robert Stewart of Toome, concerning Turlogh Grome O'Quin.'

'Let Mrs. Frances Morris, who lives about Antrim or Templepatrick, be examined as to the last particulars.'

XCIV.

The Examination of NICOLA, *wife of* JAMES FULTON, *of Dunboe parish, taken before us at Coleraine*, 22*nd of March*, 1652,

Who being duly sworn and examined saith, that about Lammas, 1642, when General Lesly and the Scotch army marched through Coleraine over the Bann, she, this examt., Paul Galt, Archy Craig, James Anderson, and one Janet Minnis, went some short time after said army into Aughidowny, five miles distant from Coleraine, to see what was become of their houses and goods at Aughidowny, which when they fled from the Irish after the rout

and killing of the British at Garragh they left behind them. That being at Aughidowny, looking for what they could find of their own goods to relieve them in Coleraine, where they with thousands more had fled for shelter, about a dozen of the Irish rebels came on horseback to Aughidowny, which this examt. and her friends perceiving they fled into the bogs, whereupon the said Irish horsemen alighted and pursued them, and took them all but the said James Anderson, who fled another way and escaped. That in the pursuit some of them darted a half pike and hit this examt. in the breast and most grievously wounded her, and wished the said Paul Galt, who had a half pike, and Archie Craig, who had a sword, to yield their weapons, and that they should have quarter, upon which they yielded. And the Irish horsemen took this examt. and the said Paul Galt, and Archie Craig, and Janet Minnis behind them and carried them off into an old fort, where they alighted and sat down. And after this examt. and the said Paul, Archie, and Janet had stayed there a little time, one Martin Taafe, the son of Richard Taafe, who dwelt in the said parish of Aughidowny when the rebellion began, and then bore some office amongst the Irish, came with some Irish with him into the said fort, and after some consultation had amongst them and the rest of the Irish, they stripped the examt. and the said Paul, Archie, and Janet of their clothes. After which the said Paul complained he was cold, and the said Martin Taafe told him he should not long feel any cold. And soon after that the said Martin Taafe, with a horseman's pistol he had in his hand, shot the said Paul Galt in the breast, he the said Paul being then upon his knees, most earnestly begging his life. That with the said shot he fell upon his face, being not killed outright, and then some other Irish in the company with their skeanes hastened his death. And this examt. further saith that when the said Paul Galt was upon his knees with great earnestness begging his life, the said Archie Craig bade him be of good cheer and fear not, for he hoped that night they should sup with Christ, for which words the said Martin Taafe and the rest of the Irish with him put the said Archie Craig to a most grievous, lingering pain; for being stripped naked, they compassed him about, and when one of them pricked him behind with a skean, and he, to avoid the pain, would fly forwards, another of them gave him a stab of a pike or skean before to make him run backwards, and accordingly they pricked him on each side he, in the meantime moaning most grievously for the extremity of his torments, and this examt. saith she believes they

spent almost three hours in killing the said Archy Craig. And this examt. being demanded how she and the said Janet escaped killing, she said some of the Irish wished to have them killed, but others of them said they had no orders to kill women, and ofttimes they would send them away to Coleraine, and then call them back again, and at last, by the providence of God, they suffered them to go away with their lives, and so that night after the murders were committed they came into Castleroe, an outer garrison belonging to Coleraine, And further saith not.

THO. COOTE.
RICH. BRASIER, *Mayor.*

JANET MINNIS, *sworn and examined*, confirmed all that the preceding witness said.

XCV.

MARTHA BUNN the wife of Henry Bunn, of Swords, in the county of Dublin, clerk, aged thirty years or thereabouts, being duly sworn and examined, saith, that she with her husband, about a week before the siege of the Castle of Longford, came into the said castle for safety of their lives, where after this examt. had been about a week or ten days the said castle was strongly besieged by one Cormac MacRoss Farrell, Rory MacGerald Farrell, Richard MacConnell Farrell, Lisagh MacGerald Farrell, and Murrogh MacEdmund Farrell. And about a fortnight after the said castle surrendered to the said persons, upon articles in writing signed by them on the one part, and Thomas Allen, Thomas Trafford, Hugh Griffin, Francis Martin, and John Smith on the part of them within the castle, who were by the said articles to have quarter for life and such goods as they could carry away about them, and for the rest of the goods in the said castle, the said besiegers were to give notes under their hands for so much as each of them received, to be accountable for them to the owners, and all within the castle were to have licenses and a safe convoy to Dublin. And further saith, that the same day the articles were signed, being about the beginning of December, 1641, she, this examt., with all the rest of the English in the said castle, being in all, men, women, and children, about sixty persons, went out about 12 of the clock, having put about them what money and clothes they had there that were portable, and as they went out a guard was made with pikes and halberds for

them to pass, but passing from the castle gate towards Thomas Allen's house, upon the green near the church, this examt., being in the middle, or rather towards the rere of the English, did observe that the Irish fell a stripping those of the English that went out first, whereupon her mother, Mrs. Flaune (*sic*), and she, this examt., with some others of the English, by the help of an Irishman formerly this examt.'s servant, broke through the guard, and got over the bridge into Bartholomew Nangle's house, where she and her mother remained till towards evening, and then were conveyed thence by John MacLisagh Farrell, James MacKedagh Farrell, Connell MacMurrogh Farrell, and others to the house of the said Connell MacMurrogh, about three miles from Longford, where they remained two nights and then got to Sir James Dillon's house, now the Earl of Roscommon's. And further saith, that presently after this examt.'s getting into Bartholomew Nangle's house, as aforesaid, Thomas Allen, before named, got into the same house and came into the room where this examt. then was, having received a wound or cut on his head, which he got, as he said, from one Richard MacJames Farrell, who, as she hath heard, was since killed at Athlone. And this examt. being demanded whether she saw Bartholomew Nangle the same day the castle was surrendered at his own house, or about the castle, or whether he had any goods in the castle at that time, saith that she did not see him at all that day, but saw his wife in her own house there, and saith that she, this examt., did not hear of any goods of the said Bartholomew being in the said castle.

MARTHA BUNN +

20*th May*, 1654,
THOS. RICHARDSON.

Note.

The above deposition seems a copy of which the original is missing. The deponent was further examined before the same magistrate a few days later, when she said that Nangle's wife seemed 'to rejoice much at the bloody work of that day,' and that to the best of her, deponent's, remembrance, Bartholomew Nangle was about his own door while she was in the house. After a lapse of thirteen years, however, a mistake as to one out of a crowd of rebels is excusable. But, in any case, there is no lack of evidence as to the Longford massacre, as will be seen by the following depositions.

XCVI.

Ruth Martin, relict of Francis Martin, merchant, of Longford, sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, that soon after the 23rd of October, 1641, about which time the rebellion broke forth in this kingdom, viz. on the Wednesday before All Hallowtide, 1641, as she remembereth, Thomas Trafford, minister of Longford, his wife and four children; Thomas Allen, of Longford, gent., his wife and four children; the said Francis Martin, this examt.'s husband, and their three children; Ralph Griffin, gent., and his wife; Matthew Baker, gent., and his wife and three children; John Smith, gent., and four children, and about three score other men, women, and children having betaken themselves for safeguard of their lives, with some small provision, into the Lord Aungier's castle or house at Longford, where they were then on or about the 7th or 8th of November, and were besieged by Cormac MacDuffe O'Farrell, of the Moat, gent.; Francis O'Farrell, of the same; Faghny Farrell, son to Fergus McBryan O'Mona, gent. (*illegible*), McGerald Farrell, of Temple Michael, gent.; Mac (*illegible*) McEdmund Farrell, of the Ryne, gent.; John McKeady Farrell, of Ballesare, gent.; Lisagh McConnell Farrell, of Clonbalt, gent.; Richard McConnell Farrell, of Cartronkeenagh, gent.; Fergus McLisagh Farrell, of Parkeene, gent., and Roger Nangle, of Longford, gent.: all of the county of Longford, being called captains among the rebels, having there, as she conceiveth, about one thousand men, armed with swords, pikes, skeans, and other weapons; which siege the said rebels continued till on or about the 2nd of December, 1641, as she remembereth, and did very often during that time assault and attempt to take the said castle by force, by erecting ladders to scale the walls, and endeavouring to set the gate on fire with a barrel of pitch and rosin, and would not during the siege permit any of the persons within the said house to go forth for any kind of provision. At length, those within the house being brought to great distress on the 2nd day of December, 1641, were forced to yield up the house to those captains and their company upon quarter, promised by the said captains; whereupon it was agreed upon between the persons in the said house and the said captains, by writing under their hands and seals, that all the people who were there in the said house should be safely conveyed by them to Trim, and would be permitted to carry away all their money,

and as much wearing clothes as they could put on and every family, being about twenty families, to have two caddows and two pair of sheets. And the said captains were by the said agreement to furnish the said people in the said house with horses for their conveyance to Trim. And thereupon about three o'clock of the same day (as this deponent remembereth) the people in the house came forth of the said house, at whose coming forth a lane was made for them by the said rebels by command of the said captains, extending in length about a musket shot from the said house, through which the people that came out were to pass; when as they (the English Protestants) passed into that lane, they were by the rebels, in the presence of their captains, all stripped, and most of them were stripped stark naked, and then immediately the rebels murdered the said Thomas Trafford, Francis Martin, Matthew Baker, John Smith, John Evans, Abraham (*blank*), a mason, and others; they wounded the said Matthew Baker in twenty places with cuts and stabs, and they cut off this examt.'s husband's head after they had killed him, and killed a little child of hers, being about three years old, in this examt.'s arms, and they cruelly wounded the said John Allen, and afterwards put him in prison, where he remained until the Saturday following, and was then hanged by the judgment and command of the said captains. The cause of this examt.'s knowledge of what she hath deposed is that she was in the said house all the time it was besieged, as aforesaid, and saw the persons aforesaid stripped and murdered, and was herself so stripped, and was privy to the said agreement for quarter, and saw all the bodies of the said persons, after they were stripped and murdered, thrown into the church at Longford by the said rebels, and she was present the next day, when their bodies were thrown into the ditch by twos and threes together by some of the rebels (*illegible*), this examt.'s husband (*illegible*) for him a winding-sheet. And she further deposeth that Cahil Oge O'Farrell, of (*illegible*), gent., and one John Reynolds, of the county of Leitrim, were also at the same siege, and commanded among the said rebels, and were present when the people of the house came forth and were murdered as aforesaid, and that the said Reynolds was the first that wounded the said Trafford. And that one Maolmor O'Reilly, of the county of Cavan, was constantly at the siege, and commanded as captain among the rebels, when the people came out of the house as aforesaid, and she heard the said Cahil Oge confess that he was one of them that helped to

carry the pitch to set the gate on fire, and she further deposeth that during the siege she observed divers of the prime gentlemen of the county Longford to resort to the said rebels, and to be frequently conversing with them, and that all the said people so besieged were Protestants, and that some of the men that escaped fled away stark naked, and, as she heard, went so to Elphin. And she further deposeth that Matthew Baker, being a corpulent fat man, that his fat came out of his wounds, and he would shriek and groan, whereat the said rebels would exceedingly laugh and rejoice, and that the said Mr. Trafford, being wounded, called for a chirurgeon, whereupon one of the rebels answered him, '*I will be your chirurgeon*,' and immediately killed him. And she further deposeth that afterwards she saw the flankers (*sic*) and much of the walls of the said house demolished by the said rebels, and saw it burning after it was set on fire by them, the cause being, as it was commonly reported among them, that they could not abide in the said house for the noise those that were slain made, in singing of psalms. And she further deposeth that some of the captains of the rebels locked themselves up in the said house to keep the said Protestants' goods from the soldiers, and were in view of the said soldiers, while the said Protestants were stripped and murdered as aforesaid.

Ruth Martin.

Jurat. 16*th March*, 1643,
Hen. Jones.
Hen. Brereton.
Entered 27*th October.*

XCVII.

Elizabeth Trafford, late wife of Thomas Trafford, deceased, late minister of the parish of Ball (*illegible*), in the county of Longford, in addition to her examination formerly taken, further deposeth and saith, that after the present rebellion began, viz. on or about the 29th of October, 1641, Francis Farrell of the Moate in the same county, Connaght O'Farrell, Rory McGerald O'Farrell, Roger Nangle, Murrogh McEdmund O'Farrell of Ryne, Bartholomew Nangle of Longford, merchant, all of them inhabitants of Longford, together with a great number of others, their partakers and soldiers, rebelliously and by force of arms marched unto and came before the castle of Longford, and then and there besieged the same castle, and suffered no manner of provision to come

therein until those that were within the said castle were forced to demand quarter, which being granted unto them, an instrument in writing was thereupon drawn up and signed by the said Francis Farrell and the rest of the rebels above named, and others not named to this effect, viz. that the persons that were within the castle should be safely conducted out of the same county of Longford, with their wearing apparel and horses. But saith that notwithstanding that writing, so soon as the said castle was delivered up, they, the said Francis Farrell, Conaght Farrell, Rory McGerald Farrell, Roger Nangle, Morogh McEdmund Farrell, Bartholomew Nangle, and the rest, locked themselves up in the castle, until all the common rebellious soldiers had first stripped all those that came forth of the said castle of all their apparel and what they had after the quarter given them. And that done, murdered eight of the men that came out of the castle, whereof one was the minister, but the rest escaped into the woods and so saved themselves by flight.

ELIZABETH TRAFFORD.

Jurat. Jan. 14, 1643,
HEN. JONES.
HEN. BRERETON.
Entered 27*th October.*

Note.

The original of the first deposition made by Mrs. Trafford on the 8th of January, 1641, is not forthcoming, but an official copy of it remains. In it she says that Reynolds stabbed her husband, who 'lay languishing' of the wound for three hours where he was killed outright by the same rebel. (See Deposition CXX., *note*, vol. ii. p. 8, for a confirmation of Reynolds' guilt.)

XCVIII.

RALPH GRIFFIN, of Bandon, in the county of Cork, gentleman, being duly sworn and examined, touching the late horrid murder of the English in the castle of Longford, by many Irish rebels in the first year of the rebellion, saith, that on the 27th of October, 1641, to his best remembrance, or on or about that time, John Kennedy, Esquire, and his wife, Matthew Baker and his wife, Frances Martin and his wife, Isaac Sloane and his wife and son, John Evans and his wife, Mr. Bunn and his wife, and old Mr. Faunce, Mr. John Smith and his wife, Henry (*illegible*) and his wife and divers other

English with their children, whose names this examt. doth not now remember, came into the said castle, with such provisions as they could bring with them, upon such short warning, and there stood upon their defence. Within a week or ten days next after the said 27th day of October, 1641, they found themselves besieged by six or seven hundred rebels, under the command of Cormac McRoss Farrell (in chief), Lisagh McGerald Farrell, and Rory McGerald Farrell, Faghny McFergus Farrell, Roger Nangle, Richard McConnell Farrell, Murrogh McEdmund Farrell of Ryne, Bryan MacShane Farrell, with several others whose names this examt. doth not remember, which siege continued till the 2nd of December following, or thereabouts. In a little time the Irish made an assault to scale the walls with ladders, and also fixed a pitch barrel against the gate to fire it, but were repulsed by this examt. and the others within the castle, who, having spent all their ammunition to two or three pounds of powder, and also most of their provision of victuals, and the enemy not prevailing, but offering quarter; they within the castle assembled together and concluded to accept the quarter, and thereupon some of the Irish commanders desired that the English within the castle would send forth some Commissioners to treat about quarter to be given them, whereupon the said English demanded hostages to be sent into them, to secure the safe return of such as they should send out to treat, which was utterly denied them, but nevertheless solemnly assured by the said Irish commanders, that as they were gentlemen, that such (of the besieged) as should go forth to treat should be safely returned into the castle, whether an agreement should be made or not; whereupon, being necessitated as aforesaid, it was thought fit by the English in the castle, that the said Edward Allen, Thomas Trafford, minister, Francis Martyn, and this examt., should go forth to treat, who went all accordingly on or about the 30th of November, 1641, and were safely guarded to Bartholomew Nangle's house, where they met with all the Irish commanders in this examination before named, or the most of them, and there it was agreed that they and all within the castle should have their lives secured, and should carry out with them all such clothes as they could put on, and have caddows and blankets to carry their children in, and to have with them what little provision and victuals they had left, and to have safe convoy to Ballimowe, in the county of Westmeath, whither they desired to go, having heard that Sir James Dillon was to come thither with some English forces from

Dublin, and Captain Lisagh McConnell (whom this examt. and the rest of the English had made choice of and his company) to be their guard and to provide horses for such as were not able to march on foot, and the Thursday following, being the second of December, all the said English were to march away as aforesaid; which agreement was reduced into articles in writing, and interchangeably signed by both parties, and this examt. and his party safely returned into the castle until the Thursday following, and then one Murtogh Mc (*illegible*), who was formerly this examt.'s father's servant, of his (*illegible*), being accompanied with eight or nine more of this examt.'s father's tenants, came to the castle gate, and desiring to speak with this examt., told him that he and the said tenants mostly desiring to drink with this examt. and his wife before their departure; wherewith this examt., having first made his wife acquainted, did condescend, upon the said Murtogh's faithful undertaking for their safety, and he, this examt., with his wife did thereupon go forth of the said castle, before any of the rest of the English, and passed the guards along with the said Murtogh to one Connor Kenney's house in the town of Longford, expecting to find beer there; when, after they had been about half an hour or less there (*illegible*), two of Mr. Trafford's children came into the said house, stripped of their clothes and crying with tears to this examt. that their father was killed, and presently after came in another of the same people, and told this examt. that his brother Martin was killed; whereupon this examt. called to one (*illegible*) MacCormac, formerly his servant, and gave him his boots and his cloak and hat, and put on the said MacCormac's brogues, and so, by the assistance of one Thomas Fox, that followed this examt. to save his life, he, this examt., fled, leaving his wife at Connor Kenney's, and escaped to Sir John Seaton's house about a mile from Longford; whither in a day or two the said Fox conveyed this examt.'s wife, and there came also this examt.'s sister, Mrs. Ruth Martin, and a mason who had been one of the English in the castle, both which persons last-named did relate to Sir John Seaton, this examt., and all that were present in the house; that Mr. Thomas Trafford, Mr. Francis Martin, Mr. Matthew Baker, John Smith, John Evans, and a sadler whose name he now remembereth not, were all killed by the Irish, who first stripped them all except Mr. Trafford, whom they killed in his clothes. And that Mr. Thomas Allen was wounded and driven into the river by one Brian O'Cane of Longford, and that Bartholomew Nangle and his brother Thomas

MacGeoghegan being on the other side of the river near the same Bartholomew's dwelling house, called to the said Mr. Allen, then standing upon a rock in the river, to come to them and they would save him, who coming to them they got him into the said house and there kept him until the rabble of the Irish army were tempted to fire the house, unless the said Allen was delivered unto them. In consequence the said Allen was conveyed over to the town gaol, wet and wounded as he was, and there kept in a dungeon from the Thursday night till Saturday morning following, and then conveyed to the gallows by order of a committee of war, as they called it, of the said officers, before mentioned, and further saith, that as he, the said examt., and his wife were coming out of the castle of Longford, he did take special notice of one John Farrell of Ballitorr, standing at the castle gate, with a pistol in his hand, and saith that Murrogh McEdmund Farrell, Roger Nangle, Lisagh McGerald Farrell, and Rory MacDonnell Farrell, were all come into the castle before this examt. marched out thence. And being demanded what other persons of the Irish they saw there during the siege in arms against the English, saith, that he saw one Tiegue Kenny of Gurteenbuoy, Hugh McMurrogh Farrell of Kilmore, Fergus McEdmund Farrell of Moytragh, Garrett Farrell of Esker, and more that he remembereth not, nor which of these or any of the rest before mentioned are yet living, he having lived so long out of the said county Longford this eleven years past. And further saith not.

RALPH GRIFFIN.

22*nd May*, 1654,
THOS. HERBERT.
THOS. RICHARDSON.

The said examt. being demanded whether he saw Faghny McLisagh Farrell of Newtown, Esquire, at any time in Longford, during the siege of the said castle, or on the day it was surrendered, saith, that he did not see him there to the best of his remembrance, but heard he was there at the beginning of the siege, but not after. And being demanded who were of the guard before the castle when he came out upon the rendering of the said castle, saith that he did not take notice, but turned from the castle gate away from the guard to go into the town. And being further demanded which of the Irish party signed the said articles for giving quarter to the English, saith that Cormac McRoss Farrell, commander-in-chief, and Roger Nangle, captain, since both deceased, Murrogh McEdmund

Farrell of Ryne, Rory McGerald Farrell, and Lisagh McGerald Farrell of Moytragh, Fargus McFargus Farrell, McBrian O'Mona, and one Shane McKennan, to this examt.'s best remembrance, were the men that signed the said articles on the behalf of the Irish. His cause of knowledge [of this] appeareth by his former examination.

RALPH GRIFFIN.

THOS. HERBERT.
THOS. RICHARDSON.

XCIX.

SUSAN STEELE, the relict of William Steele, of the Callough, in the county of Longford, gent., sworn and examined deposeth and saith, that in the beginning of the present rebellion, that is to say, about the 1st of November, 1641, her said husband, who was then alive, and she were forcibly deprived and despoiled at Callough aforesaid of their means and goods and chattels, worth about 30*l.* sterling, by the rebels, John McConogher O'Farrell, of Callough aforesaid, gent., Walter FitzGarret, of the same, gent., and others that she knoweth not. And she, this deponent and her said husband, fled for safety of their lives to the castle of Ballybeg, belonging to Mr. Barnewall of Turvey, in the county of Roscommon, where they stayed until about the last of March, the next following. And then this deponent, with her said husband and divers other English servants of Sir Robert Newcomen, Bart., and other neighbours thereabouts, to the number of twenty-seven in all, were forcibly gathered together, assaulted and carried away two miles off to a place called Boghenaule (*sic*) by the rebels, Murrogh McCarberry Farrell of Ballanahin, and others the soldiers of Lisagh MacGillarnan O'Farrell, of Furfell, a commander of rebels, and Oliver FitzGerald, of the Callough aforesaid, Esq., and other rebellious commanders, but the names of those rebels she doth not know; which said Murrogh MacCarberry and the others, having brought them to the bog aforesaid, they then and there met with the same Lisagh McGillarnan O'Farrell and Oliver FitzGarret, the commanders; where having consulted among themselves what to do, and resolving that this deponent and the rest of the English should be put to death, yet would not do it themselves, because, as they said, they should be plainly discovered, and the fact would come to Dublin, but they would send for some other rebels, to the number of fifty, that lived

beside the bog and they suddenly came to assist their cruelties. Howbeit, it pleased God that, by the earnest entreaty and mediation of the wife of Mr. Silvester Browne, then of the Callogh, Esq., and now Baronet, these rebels suffered them to go up and down the country a-begging amongst the mere Irish, in which state they continued for about five weeks. And then the said Mr. Browne took this deponent and one Daniel Stubbs home to his house, where they were kept and relieved for about a week together. And then one Fergus Farrell of Rasleene, in the county of Longford, gent., Donel Oge McAwar (*sic*) of the same, gent., John MacConogher O'Farrell of Cashelbeg, of the same, gent., John McCullen, of the parish of Rasleene, husbandman, and his brother, whose Christian name she doth not know, assisted by divers other rebels unknown unto her, came with force of arms unto Formoile, in the same county, being the house of the said Mr. Browne, in the month of May, 1642, and forcibly took and carried away from thence this deponent's husband and the said Daniel Stubbs to a windmill about half a mile off, and hanged them both on the windmill. And by credible reports, they first then and there cut down the said Daniel Stubbs, before he was dead, and dashed his brains out against the stages (*sic*) of the mill, and then they the rebels buried them both in a ditch in a hole, out of which (as she hath heard) some rebels afterwards took her husband and stripped him of his shirt wherein he was buried. And further saith, that the rebels and murderers last named and their assistants, did the very next day before they hanged her said husband, hang upon the said windmill Agnes, the wife of Henry Mead, of the Callough aforesaid and at that time those rebels, standing in a broad ring, placed in the middle thereof the said Henry Mead, and sporting themselves with his distraction, drew their swords and skeans, and first one stabbed with his sword or weapon at the said Henry Mead, and he flying from him another stabbed him on the other side, and another after him did the like, and none desisted until one bloody villain, named Patrick, sometime servant to the said Mr. Browne, came with his billhook and said to the murderers, 'You have had sport enough with the English dog,' and therewith cleft the said Henry Mead down the shoulder and breast, almost cutting off his neck, and gave him many other wounds, whereof he then and there died. And then, also, those bloody rebels with their swords, skeans, and other weapons, killed, hacked, and cut to pieces one John Brizell, close by the said windmill. And this deponent further saith, that before the murders aforesaid committed, viz. about St.

Stephen's Day, 1641, the rebels, Oliver FitzGarret and Lisagh O'Farrell aforenamed, and their soldiers, within the parish of Rasleene aforesaid, did by force and arms rob and strip of their clothes John Stubbs, gent., and his wife and four children, William Barton, Joseph Adger, the said Henry Mead, and his wife and daughter, Thomas Cragin, his wife and five children, Lancelot Wilkinson, his wife and five children, and generally all the English thereabouts, exposing them to the coldness of the weather. Insomuch that if they (the rebels) saw any English persons have on them any clothes worth taking those rebels would say, '*Oh! this speaks English, this shall go with me.*' And their little boys of seven or eight years of age would often present skeans at the English, bidding them stir if they durst, and that the skean should go into them, when those distressed English durst not make resistance nor give them a word to displease them. And this deponent further saith, that about June, 1642, some rebels, whose names she cannot tell, did at Ballenator, in the county of Longford, murder and put to death one George Foster and his wife and child, and the wife of John Brizell before mentioned, and about the same time the eldest daughter of Thomas Cragin, of the Callough, was drowned, and two more were starved for want of meat and clothes, and two more went a-begging, as their own mother told this deponent. And withal she (*i.e.* Mrs. Cragin) told this deponent that she herself was to have been murdered, but escaped, and that her husband had been in like danger, and that she was inquiring and seeking after him, and knew not whether he was murdered or not. And this deponent further saith, that she hath been divers times told, both by the Irish themselves and some of the English, that some of the children of the said George Foster were buried alive, at or near Ballynetor aforesaid, and that as the cruel rebels did tread upon their bodies and threw earth upon them, they did put up their little hands, and strove to keep the mould from their faces, as long as they could, until they were smothered and died. And one of those poor children, that then and there, by God's providence, escaped, related the same to this deponent. And this deponent further saith that, about the 10th of December, 1641, one Hubert Farrell, a servant and tenant to the said Oliver FitzGarret, did. . . . . And Mr. John Stubbs, of St. Albans (*near*), Longford, having two children out at nurse, their nurses were commanded by the rebels to bring them (the children) to their mother, who had neither meat, clothes, nor money left her, nor a house to dwell in, which children being brought to their poor parents half naked, perished and died by want of clothes

and food soon after. And this deponent hath heard, and is verily persuaded, that it was Oliver FitzGarret and Lisagh O'Farrell who commanded the nurses to bring these children to their robbed parents. And further saith, that there was a warrant made for sending and committing the said Mrs. Sylvester Browne to the gaol for relieving this deponent and her husband, Mr. Stubbs, and the rest of the English, and for that the Irish robbed him of his goods. And in April, 1642, the Lady Ann Dutton, and her daughter, Mrs. Ellinor Browne, and her maid, Mrs. Stubbs, this deponent and the rest of the English, were threatened with death by the said Oliver FitzGarret, Lisagh Farrell, and their confederates. And a warrant was signed for that purpose, by them and the rest they called their cabinet council, and directed and sent to Fergus O'Farrell, who was ordered to see it executed. The said captain, after receipt thereof, in a braving (*sic*) manner, telling the Lady Newcomen what a warrant he had, and showing it unto her, that good lady thereupon sent Sir James Dillon notice thereof, who presently came and carried and took away the said Lady Dutton and her daughter, Mrs. Stubbs, this deponent, and some servants of the said Lady Dutton's and divers other poor English Protestants, from those parts to his own house, and from thence sent them all safe to Athlone.

About the 10th of February, 1641, one William Burton, of Clogher, was murdered and cut to pieces in Athlone, by some of the soldiers of the said Captain Fergus Farrell, and two or three of his children were starved, and died under a hedge a night or two after, as their grieved and distressed mother with tears afterwards told this deponent. And about the same month one Edmund Duffe Farrell, a notable rebel, attempted . . . . . had she not been rescued from him by one Thomas Duffe, who for interfering was wounded by the said Edmund Duff Farrell.

In or before June, 1642, this deponent, being at Sir James Dillon's house, heard some friars there, whereof Mr. George Dillon, brother to Sir James, was chief, consulted and agreed together, in the absence of the said Sir James, to assault and spoil the town of Athlone, and garrison there, saying amongst themselves it might well be done, because the soldiers there were most of them sick; whereof this deponent quickly after gave notice to Sir Robert Newcomen. Wherefore he said, and as she believeth, acquainted the then Lord President Jones of Connaught thereof. But his lordship, as the said Sir Robert Newcomen told this deponent afterwards, said that he (the Lord President) did not believe it, for 'it was

no matter what women said.' Howbeit, when a day or two after, in pursuance of their resolution, the said rebels, Oliver FitzGarret, Fergy MacLishagh Farrell, son of the said Lishagh, and many of that sept, and the said George Dillon the friar, and divers other friars, priests, and rebels, privately, about break of day, came over the river of Eny, and being near a thousand in number, drew near to the place where Captain Barton and Captain Tyringham were, by the Lord President quartered, with about 200 men, upon whom unawares the rebels fell, and then and there killed the said Captain Barton and a great number of his soldiers, and carried away their arms. She also saith that afterwards, viz. about July, 1642, the said Oliver FitzGarret, and the most of the Farrells, and their soldiers, in the night time forcibly marched against the said town of Athlone, and killed some few old men, women, and children, and some sick soldiers, and burned a thatched house and about eight soldiers therein. In which flame that rebel that set it on fire, being blinded and choked, first with smoke, as was reported, was also burned and consumed. Howbeit, before eight of the clock, on the day ensuing, the rebels were beaten out of the town, and about one hundred of them slain and left behind dead, &c. &c.

SUSAN STEELE.

Jurat. 14*th July*, 1645,
HEN. JONES.
HEN. BRERETON.

Note.

John Stubbs deposed on oath that his brother Daniel, mentioned in Susan Steele's deposition, was hung as she related, and that his own (John's) children died of cold and starvation after he had been driven out by the rebels. He also swore that the Irish murdered the soldiers who were ill in bed at Athlone.

C.

The Examination of DAME MARY BROWNE, *wife to Sir Silvester Browne, late of Farmoil, in the Barony of Rathlyne, in the county of Longford, Baronet; taken before me, Sir Gerard Lowther, Knt., the 9th day of December*, 1652, *by virtue of the Commission of the Right Honourable the Commissioners of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England for the affairs of*

Ireland, bearing date 21*st November*, 1652, *authorising me and others, or any one or more of us, amongst other things, to take examinations of the massacres, murders, and robberies committed upon the English and Protestants in Ireland.*

The said examt., being of the age of fifty years, or thereabouts, being duly sworn upon the Holy Evangelists and examined, deposeth and saith, upon her oath, that about the beginning of May, 1642, Captain Phelim McFergus Farrell, and one Garret McTiegue Farrell, with some forty or fifty men in their company, came into her house called Formull (*sic*) about seven of the clock in the evening, and called for Sir Silvester Browne, the said Dame Mary's husband, and being answered that he was not at home, they called for all such English men and women as were in the house, and being asked what they would do with them they said they would bring them to Longford town before their (the Irish) colonels, and being asked by what order, they said they had orders from the said colonels, and so they forcibly carried away with them Daniel Stubbs and William Steele, Englishmen and Protestants, until they were forced, for the safe guard of their lives, to go to mass, being servants of the said Dame Mary Browne, but by great begging and weeping of the said Dame Mary, they left with her, her waiting maid, Anne Warwick, and Susan Steele, both Englishwomen, but carried the said menservants into a windmill on the lands of the said Fermoil, and there hanged them until they were dead. And further saith, that the day before there came to this examt. Dame Mary Browne, one Ellinor Knogher, of Cashellbegg, part of the lands of the said Fermoil, and told her, this examt., that there was one Henry Meade and his wife, both English people, taken out of their house by a company of Irish fellows, and whither they carried them she knew not, and presently after, these fellows coming to the gate of the said Fermoil, this woman (Elinor) observing them a coming, came unto this said examt. and cried, 'Oh, mistress! I fear they have killed Harry Meade, for I see his clothes full of blood, under the arms of one of them;' whereat this examt. sent in all haste unto her servants to keep the doors locked, and that none of them should stir forth. When those fellows, about a dozen in number, whose names and persons this examt. knoweth not, came to the gates of the said Fermoil, and desired to have them opened, which she refusing, they came over the fence, or great ditch, into the base court, whereby, observing their vehemency,

she spake unto them the fairest that might be, and told them that Sir Silvester was not at home; whereupon they, perceiving the door made fast, and that they could not get in, made the said Dame Mary, this examt., promise and give them her hand to keep the said English servants safe until the next day, which she did, in hopes by that time to get some of the country to rescue her and knowing none there so well affected to the English as a Romish priest, one John O'Moleune (*sic*), of the parish of Cashelin, the said barony of Rathlyne, county of Longford, sent her son on a horse, by break of day, where he (the priest) lived, to bring him there, being four or five miles from Fermoil, who was not then at home, nor in those parts of the country. But that this examt., seeing when those dozen fellows went away one Patrick Cahill Farrell, a ploughman, that served the said Dame Mary coming home, one of the servants of the house observed a billhook in his hand with blood upon it, and came and told this examt., whereupon she asked him (Farrell) how came that blood on the billhook and asked him whether he was amongst the said people that murdered the said English at the windmill. He said not but that he was cutting a hedge, when a hare started out, and that he killed it but the said Dame Mary, this examt., suspecting he was one of the murderers, and lest he should stay in the house that night and murder the English within it, took occasion to put him and one Brian Farrell, another ploughman to Sir Silvester, out of the way, by sending them that very evening with a letter unto Sir Silvester, who was there with his father, Sir Richard Browne, at Bellamoor; not daring to express by letter to him what she heard of the said murder, but praying the said Sir Silvester to make all the haste he could home, but they, making more haste than the said examt. expected they would, he came home that very night about midnight, and the next morning, before she was out of bed, by seven of the clock in the morning, the said Captain Phelim McFergus and Garret McTiegue, with the said forty or fifty men in their company, came and did as aforesaid before noon, and before two of the clock Sir Silvester was come home and suspecting of those fellows Patrick McCahill and Brian Farrell aforesaid, because that the night before they had not told of anything, nor so much as spoke to him, asked them for what did they murder those his said English servants, and was answered by the said Patrick McCahill Farrell it was because, and for no other reason, than that they were Englishmen; whereupon, the said Sir Silvester drawing his sword

said, 'You traitorous rogues!' and he, following them out of doors, they fled away and never came back any more. And further saith not.

Mary Browne.

Gerard Lowther.

CI.

John Edgeworth, Esquire, High Sheriff of the county Longford, a British Protestant, sworn and examined, saith that when and before this rebellion began, he was seized of several cartrons of land in his demesne as of fee, in the county of Longford; which cartrons did contain about 1,600 acres of arable land, pasture and meadow, besides bogs and wood, which was worth 260*l.* per annum, the greatest part of which was purchased by this examt.'s father as an undertaker upon the last plantation of the said county, and he further saith that his father disbursed above 600*l.* in building two stone houses which Col. Oge O'Farrell, of Cardron Reagh, Cormack McRory O'Farrell, of Kilfenden, with divers other rebels of the said county Longford did seize on about the 26th of October last (and that he was robbed of goods to the value of 1,336*l.*), the said lands being seized on by the said Farrells, and part of his said goods seized also by them, under pretence of distress for arrears of rent, for their lands as they say, due ever since the plantation of that country, and part of this examt.'s goods were also taken by James Nugent, of Coolamber, Esquire, under pretence of keeping them; which he now doth, so that this examt. cannot enjoy any of his said lands or his said goods to his unspeakable loss, and hath not left to him anything whereon to subsist. And he further saith that he had an estate in reversion of certain lands in the county of Cavan and other counties, worth 1,000*l.*, which, because his mother hath an estate for life in it from this examt., he doth not mention, and this examt. further saith, that he sending abroad to know what the meaning of this insurrection was, word was brought him by one Thomas Strafford, once a servant to this examt., that he heard there was a commission come from his Majesty to the Irish, by which they had power to destroy the English in this kingdom, and in so doing to revenge the wrong done to him, Charles, by the Puritans of England; who had not only taken away his prerogative, but had deposed him and put up the Palsgrave in his stead. This deponent, discoursing further with the said Strafford, asked him if

there were not a great meeting of friars and priests about the 3d or 4th of October last, at the monastery of Multifarnham, in the county of Westmeath, to which the said Strafford answered that there was and being further asked by this examt. what that meeting was about, answered he did not know; only this much, that some of the friars told him that this was a year of jubilee, and that there was a plenary indulgence or bull, as he termed it, from the Pope for all the sins committed, and all that should be committed this year of jubilee. And this examt. further saith, that he, going into Westmeath to Tuitstown, he there inquired what this rising should mean, but none could take upon them to know, but (*illegible*) and by other discourse he heard James Tuite, uncle to this examt., and a priest whom he knoweth not by name say, that the Puritans of England did use the King so basely, and that they had given order to have the Queen's confessor hanged, and that the said Puritans, as they termed them, did tyrannise over the poor Catholics of England, and said that here in Ireland there must not any live or enjoy a foot of land, but those that would become Roman Catholics, and they (Nugent and the friar) told this examt. that if ever he intended to enjoy his estate, he must forsake his religion and turn papist. And this examt. further saith, that his mother, Mrs. Jane Edgeworth, told him that he must not expect to enjoy anything of his estate unless he would turn papist, and that if he would do so he should have his own estate again with advantage, and that she was mediating with the Catholic camp (as they termed it) for him but this examt. doth and ever will chuse rather to live and die miserable and in want, as now he doth, rather than to purchase his estate, if it had been a world, on such terms; all which this examt. deposeth to be true to the best of his remembrance, and further saith not.

JOHN EDGEWORTH.

Deposed before us, Feb. 23d, 1641,

HEN. JONES.

WM. ALDRICH.

This is a true copy, the original whereof was given into the court of the chief place for evidence against the rebels, where it still remaineth.

Witness our hands, July 7th, 1652, HEN. JONES.

HEN. BRERETON.

Note.

Captain John Edgeworth, the grandson of the Right Rev. * * * Edgeworth, Bishop of Down and Connor in 1593, was the great great grandfather of Richard Lovell Edgeworth, father of Maria Edgeworth. Captain John Edgeworth's mother was the daughter of Sir Edmund Tuite of Sonna, in Westmeath, a Catholic and the foundress of a convent in Dublin.

CII.

John Reade, of Lismoone and Tully, in the parish of Clangish, within the county of Longford, gent., a British Protestant, duly sworn saith, that at or about the 3rd of January, 1641, he was robbed, despoiled, and by force of arms deprived of goods, leases, and chattels to the value of 385*l.*, by, and by means of Francis Farrell of the Moate, and his company, and James Farrell of Tillicke, and his company, and Richard Farrell of Ballintye, and James Farrell of Colemore, and Lisagh Farrell of Clonbally, and his brother Richard Farrell, and Mahon McShane of Ballagh, Kedagh MacLaughlin O'Farrell of Corinally, and their company, all within the county of Longford; who said that all the goods of the English and Scotch were gotten in Ireland, and that they were their's (the Irish), and that they had a warrant under the King's hand to take them. And further saith, that at or about the time aforesaid that the rebel, Richard Farrell before named, and many more of the rebels, publicly said; that the English and the Scotch had gotten all their (the Irish) lands and lived bravely and richly, and that they and the rest of the Irish were left poor gentlemen, and that they would therefore retake their land again from them (the English), and their goods; saying at the first that the King had given them a commission to do so, and to rob and banish all the English, but they had no power from him to rob the Scotch but about a month afterwards they said the King had given them power to rob and banish all the Scotch also; further saying, that both the English and the Scotch that were in Ireland were all beggars when they came into Ireland, and so they should be returned there (to England and Scotland), for that neither the English nor the Scotch should any more have anything to do with Ireland. And further saith, that about the 14th of January, 1641, a proclamation was read by one

John Farrell, a rebel clerk to Colonel Francis Farrell, in the name of the King's majesty, but no king was named in it, whereupon this deponent asked why they did not name the King Charles in their proclamation, as formerly was used in others, and what they meant by it, to which the said John Farrell answered, that that was a dangerous question for this deponent to ask, and therefore he bade him, this deponent, demand that no more, nor any such like questions; for if he did it would cost him his life, for indeed they meant their own king, but what had he (this deponent) to do with that, and he would not have this deponent to run into a snare by asking such questions. And further saith, that James Farrell, father to Colonel Brian Farrell, took no man's goods from him that he knows of, yet he told this deponent privately that it was generally resolved on by the Irish, that they would never have any more chief governors, judges, justices, or officers of the English or Scotch (nations), but would name and appoint such themselves.

JOHN READE.

Jurat. 10*th Jan.*, 1642,
JOHN WATSON.
WILL. ALDRICH.

CIII.

CHRISTIAN OLIPHANT, relict of William Oliphant, clerk, being sworn upon the Holy Evangelist, doth affirm that John Crean being one of the chief in command at the taking of Templehouse; her husband and herself being in the lower parlour, in the presence of the said Crean were brought forth by the soldiers of the said Crean and the O'Haras unto the place of execution; notwithstanding this deponent's earnestly pressing the said Crean to delay her and her husband's going out there, until she had spoken with Mr. Crofton and his wife. The said Crean would afford her no answer, but suffered his soldiers to bring them forth, to wit herself, her husband, Henry Norwell, an elderly man, and one ancient woman, at which time her husband and these two were executed. And after they had executed this deponent's husband, they tied him to a horse's tail and dragged him about the streets in a most inhuman and barbarous manner; notwithstanding that this deponent's husband and the other two that were executed had had quarter promised them by the said Crean and the O'Haras, under their hands for the securing of their lives at the surrendering of the said house, and this deponent having at that time three small children, they

were all stripped naked, it being a week before Candlemass in the extremity of the winter, which so penetrated these infants that they have since all died.

And further, this deponent saith, that she was credibly informed that Thomas Morton, a tenant of her brother, John Buchanan, who was murdered in the county of Mayo, with five or six more of his family, coming out of the said county and repairing to the north, fell into the said John Crean's camp, as they called it, near Temple House, where the said Morton and his family were murdered in a most barbarous manner. After the father was murdered the children were thrown into the grave alive with the father, and so buried alive. And further this deponent saith not.

CHRISTIAN OLIPHANT.

Taken before me, 3rd February, 1645,
CHAS. COOTE.

Note.

A great deal has been reported, nothing proved, about Sir Charles Coote's cruelty to the Irish rebels; but it is only fair to remember what effect the recital of such cruelties as are here mentioned would have upon the temper of a stern soldier of the seventeenth century, as well as upon the Scotch colonists of Ulster, countrymen of Mr. Oliphant.

CIV.

JANE BOSWELL, wife of Mr. Thomas Boswell, living in Wine-tavern Street, Dublin, duly sworn and examined, saith, that she was in the house of William Crofton, Esq., at Temple House, in the county of Sligo, in the first year of the rebellion, and about a fortnight or three weeks before Christmas in the said year there came before the said house one Captain John Crean, Captain Hugh MacDonogh, and one (*illegible*) O'Hara, and about seven or eight hundred rebels in their company, and besieged the same; which siege continued about seven or eight weeks to the best of her remembrance and then the said Irish captains and Mr. William Crofton came to a parley, at which time it was agreed that the said Mr. Crofton, his family, with all the rest of the family then in the house, should have liberty there to remain for nine days longer, and then such of them as would depart should have liberty

so to do, with bag and baggage, and to have safe convoy to the Abbey of Boyle, in the county of Roscommon, and the said Mr. Crofton was to swear that he should not harbour nor conceal any goods belonging to any other person then not in the house, or not comprehended in the said agreement; which agreement was put in writing, and sealed by the said Mr. Crofton, Mr. Oliphant minister, Mr. Wray, minister, Mr. Roger King, this examt. herself, and others then present on the one part, and the said John Crean, Hugh McDonogh (*illegible*), Oliver O'Hara, Brian O'Hara, and others on the rebels part; which rebels before-named, upon a book they called a portoose, swore to perform the said quarter, and the said William Crofton, Mr. Oliphant, Mr. Wray, and this examt., did swear on a bible that they would not conceal or cover any goods of their own, or any other men, than they could carry away according to their quarter but as soon as the said quarter was so fully agreed upon and confirmed, the said rebels refused to go out of the said house, and the said Captain John Crean, Captain (*illegible*) O'Hara, and Bryan O'Hara, laid violent hands on the said Mr. Crofton and his wife, and threw him on the ground, took off her hat, ruff and apron, and grew very violent, and the next day seized all the house and took all the goods, and the next day after, being Saturday, the said Irish divided all the said goods among them, and the next day, being the Lord's Day, all the English, Scottish, and others in the house, were summoned by the Irish to hear mass; which was said in the hall, and all the said English, Scotch, and Irish did hear the mass accordingly, except only the said Mr. Crofton and Mrs. Crofton, Mr. Oliphant, Mr. Wray, this examt., Mrs. Anne Loftus, and some children. And the next day, the said Irish took out the said Mr. Oliphant, and another Scottish man, called Henry Begg and their wives, and one Margaret Branagh, a Welsh woman, and her husband, one Duffe, an Irishman, and their five children, and this examt. and her three children, she being then great with her fourth child; all which persons the said Irish led to the midst of the town, where was about four ash trees, the said John Crean, Brian O'Hara, and Hugh McDonogh, being principal actors, and on the said trees they hanged the said Mr. Oliphant, having first stripped him stark naked, and after he was dead, they dragged him at a garron's tail through the mire, to a ditch, where they buried him, and further saith that at the same time they hanged the said Henry Begge and Margaret Branagh in this examt.'s presence, who expected nothing but death all the while, and they stripped Mrs.

Oliphant and her children most barbarously to the skin, this examt. being first stripped herself to the skin by the said Crean. And this examt. further saith, that one Maelmore MacSwine, one of the said rebels, led this examt. back from the said trees to be reprieved for thirteen days and then to go to mass or be hanged, and the rest were all brought back to the town of (*illegible*) Temple, where they remained some about a fortnight after, and some not so long, and then were conveyed away to Ballymote, where by the way the said Mr. Wray was killed by the rebels, in the street of (*illegible*) Temple in this examt.'s view. And further saith, that about the same time she heard some of the same Irish rebels boast that they had (*illegible*) six women and two men and some children, and that they would serve this examt. and the rest of the English so; bidding them sweep the house clean, for they should have blood enough, and that English folk loved puddings or words to that effect. And further saith she heard by some that were present and saw it, that the said Irish had half killed and thrown into a saw-pit, about a mile from Tee Temple, six women and two men and three children, and cast earth and stones upon them, burying them alive. And further saith not.

The mark of Jane + Boswell.

16*th October*, 1653. *Taken before me*,
William Gilbert, Knt.
Thos. Richardson.

CV.

Anne Loftus, of Dublin, spinster, aged twenty-one years or thereabouts, being duly sworn and examined, saith that she was present at Tee Temple, in the house of William Crofton, Esq., about a fortnight before Christmas, in the first year of the rebellion, when one, Captain Oliver, or (*illegible*) O'Hara, and Captain John Crean, and Captain Hugh McDonogh, accompanied with one Cormock Oge O'Hara, and Brian O'Hara, and about two or three hundred more Irish rebels, came and besieged the said house, and continued the said siege till about Candlemass following, and then the said Mr. William Crofton agreed to accept of quarter for himself and all that were in his house for their lives and goods, which was faithfully promised by the said O'Hara, John Crean, and Hugh McDonogh; whereupon they entered the said house and the next morning, contrary to their said quarter given, they carried out one Mr.

Oliphant, a Scottish minister, and another Scottish man, and one Margaret, an Englishwoman, and hanged them all at an ash tree near the said house, as this examt. then heard. And further saith, that soon after she, this examt., being in Mr. Crofton's chamber in the said house, some of the said Irish knocked rudely at the chamber door, and demanded to bring out Mr. Wray, another minister, who was then in the chamber, for that they had dispatched the other, whereupon the said Mr. Wray sorrowfully went out to them, and soon after came in again stripped naked, and the day after that they killed him, in this deponent's sight, as she with the rest that were in the house were marching towards Ballymote, whither Mr. Crofton had desired to go for protection, and where they continued for about a quarter of a year, until they were conveyed afterwards to other places of safety, by the good providence of God. And further saith not.

Ann Loftus.

16*th Oct.* 1653,
Wm. Gilbert.
Thos. Richardson.

CVI.

Rose Ennis, widow, living at Sir William Loftus' house at the Bridge Foot, in Dublin, aged thirty-six years or thereabouts, being duly sworn and examined, saith, that she was present in the house of Sir William Crofton, at Tee Temple, in the county of Sligo, Esq., in the first year of the rebellion, and saith, that about a fortnight before Christmas, in the said year, being the year 1641, a great number of Irish rebels came to the said house, under the command of Captain (*illegible*) O'Hara, Captain John Crean, Captain Hugh McDonogh, and one Cormac Oge O'Hara, and Brian O'Hara, who besieged the said house (the said besiegers being seven or eight hundred of the Irish), which house the said Mr. Crofton defended till about Candlemass following, and then agreed to surrender it to the said besiegers upon quarter for life and goods of all that were in the house, and all their goods without doors, corn and cattle; which quarter the said Captains O'Hara, Crean, and McDonogh, did swear upon a book to perform, and the said Mr. Crofton did swear upon the bible to conceal no goods of other persons that were not then in the house; which oaths were taken in this examt.'s presence, and the said captain did swear to give safe convoy to the said Mr. Crofton, and all in his house, to whatsoever place he would appoint,

and within nine days after the said house was to be surrendered but after the said conditions made as aforesaid; the said captain having gotten in many of their rude company, kept them there, and would not depart the said house and the very next day after they carried out one Mr. Oliphant, a Scottish minister, and another Scottish man and a woman, and stripped the said Mr. Oliphant naked, and hanged them all there on an ash tree near the said house in this examt.'s own sight, and drew the said Mr. Oliphant's dead body at a horse's tail, and buried it in a ditch, and soon after some of the said Irish rebels came into the house again, and called for Mr. Wray, another minister, an Englishman, then in Mr. Crofton's own chamber, vaunting that they had hanged the other; whereupon the said Mr. Wray spoke to Mr. Crofton, desiring his prayers, and so went out to them, but within a short time after came in again stripped naked, Captain John Crean being in the said chamber all the while, and the next day after, as the said Mr Crofton, this examt., and all the rest were marching away towards Ballymote, though, by their quarter, they were to have remained nine days at Tee Temple, on the way some of the Irish rebels murdered the said Mr. Wray, notwithstanding Captain Hugh McDonogh had taken twenty shillings of Mr. Crofton's money, promising in return safely to convey the said Mr. Wray to Ballimote. And further saith, that she credibly heard that the said Irish rebels, about the same time, had half killed many English people, and buried them alive, eight within one grave, at Rebane, within half a mile of Temple House; which grave this examt. saw, and saith that she was told by some that were present and some of the Irish rebels themselves, that six of the said eight could speak and did speak when they were put into the grave, and were covered with earth. And further saith not.

The mark of Rose + Ennis.

Sworn before us, 16*th April*, 1653,
William Gilbert.
Thos. Richardson.

Note.

The book called 'portoose' in the deposition of Jane Boswell was, I believe, a breviary or Catholic prayer-book of some kind, the word being a corruption of the Latin name of the volume. (See *Lower's English Surnames*, p. 208.)

CVII.

Jane Brown, wife of William Brown of Kilvarnet, *alias* Kilvardragh, in the county of Sligo, gentleman, sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, that she hath heard and considered of the examination of her husband, the said William Brown, this day taken concerning his losses and of his knowledge of the present rebellion, and saith that she verily believeth, and partly indeed knoweth, the said examination to be in all things true, and especially that portion of the friar's discourses; for that at his return from the friar, her said husband told her the words spoken by the friar which he, her husband, hath mentioned in his examination, or words to that effect. And this deponent saith, that she and some of her children and many of the British Protestants of the barony of Lainey and county of Sligo, were in November, 1641, by occasion of the rebellion constrained for the safety of their lives to fly into the castle of Temple House to avoid the hands of the bloody rebels of the said county. And saith, that the said castle of Temple House was, about ten days before Christmas, 1641, besieged by the rebels, viz., by Captain Hugh MacDonogh, Captain Brian O'Hara, Captain John O'Crean, Captain Robert McConnor, Captain Oliver O'Hara, with thousands of Irishmen by them commanded, and many other Irish rebellious captains, whose names this deponent cannot now remember. But this deponent saith that Captain Luke Taafe, Captain Francis Taafe, Tiegue O'Connor Sligo, Cormac Oge O'Hara, Esquires; James French, and his son Jeffrey French, Robert O'Crean, and many others of the Irish gentry of the said county of Sligo, were at the siege of Temple House, and did questionless encourage the said rebels and their confederates to besiege the said castle, and to rob, kill, and despoil the Protestants then in the said castle of their said goods and chattels. And saith, that this deponent did by means of that rebellion, and by the said rebels, or some of them then and there, lose great part of the goods and household stuff mentioned in her husband's examination. And saith, that about the time before mentioned, the said castle was for want of ammunition yielded by William Crofton, Esq., to the said Irish captains, or some of them, upon quarter as followeth, viz., that this deponent and the rest of the British Protestants, then and there in the said castle, should be safely conveyed to the Boyle, and have their wearing apparel, some horses and furniture to carry them thither, and some money

in their purses. But, in conclusion, this deponent saith that after the said castle was so yielded upon quarter, the said rebellious captains and their confederates, did in January, 1641, or thereabouts, contrary to all honesty, traitorously break their vows and fidelity, and instead of giving quarter did, in the month of February, 1641, or thereabouts, inhumanly strip William Oliphant, clerk, preacher of God's Word, and having so stripped him naked, did hang him at Temple House, aforesaid, and, after cutting him down, did tie the withe (rope) about his neck to a horse's tail, and most inhumanly dragged him at the horse's heels up and down the street, and did at the same time hang Margaret Carless, a midwife, and Henry Norman; and did then and there at that same time most inhumanly, barbarously, and bloodily wound, cut, and stab George Wray, clerk, preacher of God's Word, whereof he languished two or three days, and then died. And this deponent saith, that some of the captains and their confederates did also at the same time bring this deponent out of the said castle of Temple House (being then great with child), and three of her children being likewise stripped, did carry her to the gallows, where the before-mentioned parties were hanged, to be by them also hanged and executed there, but it pleased God to preserve this deponent and her said children from their bloody intentions; so as this deponent and her said children being left destitute of all livelihood, did beg up and down the said county of Sligo, a quarter of a year at least, and had been starved or killed for not going to mass, had not Farrell O'Gara, Esquire, charitably preserved and relieved them for a long time, and afterwards they were relieved by Sir Charles Coote, Knt. and Bart. And this deponent saith, that whilst she was in the said castle of Temple House, she was credibly informed that some of the said captains, or some of the rebels of the county of Sligo, did at Rebane, near unto Temple House aforesaid, in the months of December, January, and February, 1641, or in some one of the said months, most bloodily and barbarously wound, cut, and stab six or seven women, British Protestants of the Scottish and English nations, and having thus cut and wounded them, did then and there throw them with one young child into a ditch or pit, and covered them, being alive, with earth and stones, by means whereof the said women and child died. And this deponent saith, that whilst she was tormented as aforesaid amongst the said rebels, some of the Rourkes of the barony of Dromoheere did, in harvest last was twelvemonths, drown her eldest son Frederick Browne, in the river of Dromoheere, called the river Bonnett (*sic*), and saith

that by means of the said rebellion two of her husband's children, viz., Sarah Browne and Roger Browne, were starved to death for want of food. All which misdemeanours, robberies, and murders were perpetrated and committed by the before-mentioned rebels and their confederates of the counties of Sligo and Leitrim, after such a devilish manner as is before related, and that without cause or provocation made or proffered to be done by this deponent or her husband, to any of the said rebels or their confederates, they being at the time of the beginning of this insurrection in God's and his Majesty's peace, and all living at that time as was considered in neighbourly love and friendship together.

JANE BROWNE.

Jurat. 8th January, 1641,
HEN. JONES.
HEN. BRERETON.

Note.

The deposition of William Brown of Kilvarnet, husband to the above-named Jane, taken on the same day before the same commissioners, relates almost wholly to his losses of houses, lands, and money. The passage in it relating to the friar alluded to above is as follows:—

'This deponent further saith, that fearing those outrages and robberies were the beginning of a rebellion, and hearing that Brian MacKeegan, guardian of the Franciscan friars at the abbey of (*illegible*), in the county of Leitrim, was a few days after the beginning of the rebellion preaching a sermon upon some of this deponent's lands at Killoran, sent a letter to him desiring to confer with him about the commotion then in hand, and a meeting being had with him about the (*blank*) of December, 1641, the said friar told this deponent that the blood that the Binghams had formerly spilt in the province of Connaught, and that the monies and fines that had been taken from the recusants in those counties for their conscience cause, would be now remembered, whereunto this deponent presently told the said friar that he was sorry to hear him say so, wishing him to give better advice to the people of the country, and bade the said friar call to mind the bad success the Irish had in that rebellion of 1588, and in those rebellions of Tyrone, O'Dogherty, and McGuire, and that God was a righteous God and would avenge the blood of the innocent, whereunto the said friar answered, "Ah, sir, it will not be so with you now, as it was in those days, for then the Irish were divided as concerning the title

of the Crown and Crown lands," and that now they had other matters in hand, and that there should not be left scarce an Irishman in all Ireland that was a Catholic that would take part with the Protestants; which passages of the said friar's discourse this deponent took into consideration and acquainted some of his friends with the said words, and thereupon, shortly after, repaired to the Lord Ranelagh, then president of Connaught, and acquainted him with those words of the friar's, and desired his lordship to send some forces into the county of Sligo to quiet the rebels there, assuring his lordship that a few horse and foot would then do it, for that the Irish of that country were then unarmed and had very few considerable strongholds.'

CVIII.

William Walsh, son of William Walsh, gent., late of Sligo, in the county of Sligo, sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, that his father in his lifetime was deprived and robbed by the rebels of his means and goods, to the value of 1,254*l.*, present losses, and 72*l.* per annum until a peace be settled. And saith, that these undernamed persons were at the siege and taking of Sligo, and divided the before-mentioned goods amongst them, and the goods of the rest of the Protestants in Sligo:—

Tiegue O'Connor Sligo, reputed general of the rebels in those parts, MacBrian O'Connor, Captain Charles O'Connor, a friar, and Captain Hugh O'Connor, all three brothers to O'Connor Sligo; Captain Brian McDonogh, Captain Luke Taafe, Captain Francis Taafe, Captain Patrick Plunkett, Captain Donnell McBrian Daragh O'Connor, Captain John Crean, Captain Brian McSwine, Captain Roger McOwen McSwine, Captain Phelim McConnor, Captain Tiegue Buie O'Connor, Captain Tiegue O'Connor, of the Glan, Captain Con O'Connor, of the same, Colonel Owen O'Rourke, Captain MacOwen Oge O'Rourke, Captain Brian Ballagh O'Rourke, Captain Tiegue MacBrian Ballagh O'Rourke, Captain Hugh MacDonogh, Captain Robert McNamey, Captain William Oge McPhelim McGlonmagh, of the Dartry, in Leitrim, Captain William McGlonnagh, of the same, Captain Tiegue McPhelim McGlonmagh, of the same, Mr. Kedagh O'Bannaghan, Mr. James French, and his son Geoffrey, Edmund McBrian McSwine, guardian of the Dominicans of Sligo Abbey.

But for the rest of the confederates this deponent cannot for the

present remember their names. His cause of knowledge is that he, this deponent, was present when the before-mentioned rebels forcibly took the town of Sligo, and deprived his, this deponent's, father, and the rest of the Protestants of all their goods and chattels.

And this deponent further saith, that when the said Luke Taafe and Captain Brian McDonogh were raised to greater command by the Irish in their army, they, the said Luke Taafe and Brian McDonogh, and divers of the before-mentioned captains, accompanied with great numbers of armed men, did upon Easter last, 1643, march towards Manor Hamilton, in the county of Leitrim, on purpose to kill and destroy the British Protestants there, and to despoil them of their goods and chattels. At which time it pleased God that in the fight between the British then garrisoned at Manor Hamilton, and the said rebels, the said Brian McDonogh was then by the British killed, and the rest of his confederates routed and put to flight; his cause of knowledge is for that he, this deponent, was sometimes a trooper, and sometimes a footsoldier at Manor Hamilton, and was present at that fight, when the said Brian McDonogh was slain. The said deponent further saith, that in December, 1641, the said town of Sligo was taken by the before-mentioned captains of the rebels and their confederates, and quarter was thereupon given or promised to this deponent's father, William Walsh, and his mother Elizabeth Walsh, and to the rest of the British then there unkilled, being in number thirty-eight or thereabouts, viz.: William Braxton, this deponent's uncle; Thomas Stewart, James Scott, and a male child of his of the age of four or five years; Sampson Port and his wife Mary Port, and her father, whose name he cannot remember, of the age of seventy years or thereabouts; John Littell, Arthur Martin, William Doolittle, his wife and three children, William Carter, John Lewis, lieutenant of a foot company under the command of the Right Hon. the Lord President of Connaught, then garrisoned there, and Elizabeth his wife; Robert Spens, Elizabeth Harlow, William Blatt, and several others, all British Protestants, whose names this deponent cannot for the present remember, who were three weeks in the protection of Tiegue O'Connor Sligo, then reputed General for the Irish in the said county of Sligo, who had good store of their goods and money. But the same British were afterwards, by consent of the said O'Connor Sligo, put into the gaol of Sligo by Charles O'Connor and Hugh O'Connor, brothers unto the said O'Connor Sligo. And

all the said British Protestants were about midnight of the 13th of January, 1641, most inhumanly and barbarously murdered in the said gaol by the said Charles O'Connor and Hugh O'Connor, and by one Hugh O'Connor, of Maghermac Gillernew, in the said county of Sligo, Tiegue O'Sheile, Roger McMurry, Kedagh O'Harte, Edmund O'Flin, Charles Gilgan (*sic*), Richard Walsh, Nicholas Walsh, Thomas Walsh, and other rebels, whose names this deponent cannot for the present remember.

And this deponent knoweth that Colonel Owen O'Rourke, Brian Ballagh O'Rourke, his brother, Charles and Hugh O'Connor, brothers to O'Connor Sligo, as before-mentioned, Tiegue Boy O'Connor, of Cloonderrere, Phelim O'Connor, and divers others of the before-mentioned rebels, were for some four or five hours before the said British were murdered consulting in the Lady Jones's late house in Sligo about the said murder, and how it should be done. This deponent's cause of knowledge is, for that he was brought into the said house by one Owen MacRory O'Connor, and stood behind the door in the next room in the said house, and heard their discourse, of what he hath here deposed, and was afterwards sent privately away to the said Owen O'Connor's lodging by his man. And further this deponent saith, that William Sheale and his son and two other Scotchmen, whose names he cannot remember, were on the said 13th of January likewise bloodily butchered and killed in the streets of the said town of Sligo by Hugh McToole Gallagher, and others of the before-mentioned rebels. And saith that Elizabeth Scott, wife unto James Scott, that was murdered in the said gaol, making her escape out of the said town in the next morning, being great with child, and near the time of her delivery, was apprehended by some of the before-mentioned rebels, as she was going over the river of Sligo, and by some of them stabbed with skeanes to death, being ripped up. . . . His, this deponent's, cause of knowledge is, both concerning the before-mentioned murders in the gaol, and the said murders in the street and river, for that he went into the gaol to see his father and mother, some four or five hours before they were murdered, and was there the next morning before day after they were murdered, and saw them and the rest lying there murdered, and was privately carried thither by the said Owen O'Connor, who protected this deponent for the love he bare his father, and this deponent continued in the town part of the next day, until the other before related murders were committed, and was afterwards for his safety

conveyed to Mr. Robert Parkes's house at Newtown, where he served as a soldier while he stayed there.

WILLIAM WALSH.

Jurat. ultimo, Feb. 1643,
HEN. JONES.
HEN. BRERETON.

Note.

Several other witnesses deposed as to the murders of the imprisoned in Sligo gaol, and those committed on men, women, and children in the streets of the town after it had surrendered on quarter, and that the three brothers of O'Connor Sligo, one of whom was a friar, were 'active in those crimes and outrages,' and that they employed two butchers named Butts to go into the gaol and murder the prisoners. O'Connor Sligo himself is not charged with any direct share in the murders. The number of those murdered in the gaol seems to have been much exaggerated by this witness, only about a dozen perished there.

CIX.

JOHN GOLDSMITH, parson of Brashoule, in the county of Mayo, sworn and examined, saith that betwixt three and four years before the last rebellion in Ireland began, Francis Gouldsmith (*sic*), this deponent's brother, who is a Romish priest of good account, living at and being Capitan Maior (*sic*) of the Castle of Antwerp in Brabant, writ and sent a letter to this deponent to Brashoule aforesaid, which was delivered to him, this deponent, by one Father Richard Barret, a Jesuit, and Spanish preacher, and as this examt. hath heard agent for the Irish in those parts. By which letter he, Francis Goldsmith, requested this deponent to come away out of Ireland, using many earnest arguments to draw him, and taking away all impediments and excuses for his not coming, and in the conclusion of his letter expressing himself in these words, viz.: 'Brother, I wonder you will live in so base a kingdom, you'll say you have a wife and children and cannot come, sell the little goods you have, and come away with your wife and children.' This letter, as this deponent hath heard, was first delivered at Antwerp aforesaid to Malone, the arch-Jesuit, that dwelt in Dublin, who was put in charge to bring over this deponent. But he (Malone) being accidentally diverted towards Rome, he left the letter with the said

Barrett, who delivered it as aforesaid. And this deponent further saith, that he is verily persuaded that the said Malone had secretly revealed the intended plot of rebellion to this deponent's said brother, which induced him to write so earnestly for this deponent, his wife and children to leave the kingdom, and so to escape the danger thereof, which this deponent did not suspect, nor in any way understand, till about the latter end of July, next before the present rebellion began, when this deponent observed that certain Irish smiths had in a short space of time made a multitude of skeans, whereby he conceived that some sudden mischief and insurrection would then ere long ensue, and which as he also thought would amount to no less than such a rebellion as he then verily began to suspect had been before discovered to his said brother. And then, to prevent further mischief if it were possible, he, this deponent, acquainted one Mr. Woodliffe, sergeant-at-arms for the province of Connaught, how such skeans were being made, and that some danger was like to ensue, who giving notice thereof to Sir Edward Povey, Vice-President of that province, a proclamation was thereupon made and sent to prohibit the making of skeans, and also a letter was sent to Sir Henry Bingham, Knight, to advise him, this deponent, about the apprehending of the said smiths, to whom (Sir Henry) this deponent imparted his conceit of an intended rebellion, that would shortly ensue, and offered to the said Sir Henry that if he would send some of his trusty servants unto his, this deponent's house, he would go foot by foot with them until the smiths were apprehended. The said Sir Henry Bingham faithfully promised to send his men accordingly at a certain time appointed, but never sent any. But whether his fault was caused by neglect or fear this deponent knoweth not. Afterwards this deponent acquainted the Lord of Mayo thereof, but all to no effect.

And this deponent further saith, that about the 1st of November, 1641, when the proclamation against the rebellious came down from Dublin, and many of the clergy fled to Galway, the deponent desired the said Sir Henry Bingham to receive him into his castle of Castlebar, there being as he conceived no other secure place of refuge within forty miles. And this deponent having been formerly a Romish Papist and converted to the Protestant religion by the light of God, truly being therefore the more hated by the Papists than any other (Protestant), the said Sir Henry Bingham answered him, that if he, this deponent, were in his castle, it would be the more eagerly assaulted for his sake, and therefore he (Sir Henry) would not receive him. And thus having no place of refuge within the

county of Mayo, this deponent was exposed to the merciless rage of those his virulent enemies, the rebels, who coming to his house at midnight after the (*illegible*) day of (*illegible*) 1641, all his men servants being fled from him, presented their sharp skeans to his throat, robbed him then and at other times of all his household goods, books, cattle, horses, provision, and other of his goods and chattels, worth about 500*l.*, and forcibly expelled him from his church livings, and lands worth 100*l.* per annum, whereof he hath since lost two years' profits, and he is likely to be deprived of and lose the future profits of his said church until a peace be settled. And this deponent having heard, being told by some of his neighbours, that he hath no way to save his life but by going to mass, he fled away (after that God did help him out of their hands), and was presently pursued by Edmund O'Malley McLaughlin, who beset the house where this deponent was with about twenty of his men, saying unto him, '*Mr. Gouldsmith, do you remember how the English served us? how they slit our noses and scarred our faces? Come forth!*' And was so bitter against this deponent, that had not a friar whom he knew begged for him, as the neighbours told him, he (the said Edmund O'Malley McLaughlin) had cut out this deponent's tongue, for which purpose he came thither as the deponent was informed. At length, with much difficulty, this deponent escaped to the Lord of Mayo's house, and was the second man that was robbed in the county of Mayo, as he supposeth. The first man that was robbed by the rebels in that county was one Mr. Percival, as he supposeth. Whereupon the Lord of Mayo and a certain number of his men, as this deponent was informed, pursued those rebels that had taken the said Mr. Percival's cattle, and coming to pass through a ford at Ballyhaunis the rebels had there fortified a mill against them with musketeers. The army of the rebels being not far off prepared for battle, but after some intercourse between the Lord of Mayo and these rebels by messages going betwixt them, the Lord of Mayo gave them a protection. And then, after much shouting and joy, besides both parties being intermingled, they lodged that night at the Abbey of Ballyhaunis, amongst a company of friars, the Lord of Mayo being there present amongst them. At which abbey, they having then received instruction from those friars (as was said), they then broke forth into all inhuman practices, barbarous cruelties, and open rebellion, as this deponent hath been credibly informed and partly knoweth. And this deponent further saith, that he, in his distress, coming with his wife and family to the Lord of Mayo, his lordship then having in his house one Mr. (*illegible*), a distressed minister,

and his wife and family, and three other distressed gentlemen, Protestants, all of whom he (Lord Mayo) entertained at his table. The said Lord of Mayo made his complaint unto him, this deponent, in what despicable case the State had left him, without help or succour, he having sent unto them (the Lords Justices) for relief. And about that time news came from the rebels that they would have the Lord of Mayo go forth with them into open action and hostility against the Protestants. Quickly after there came a report, that upon a certain night the castle should be beleaguered. Wherefore, about midnight, his lordship went forth with his men for the encounter, but the rebels came not. This deponent was told by some of the house how miserably his lordship had been perplexed in the night with anxious thoughts. But not long after, he propounded a question to this deponent and Mr. Bringhurst whether he, in his great extremity having no relief from the State, might not take those men that went forth into rebellion into protection, and make use of them as he thought fit for his Majesty's service. Mr. Bringhurst told this deponent that his lordship intended to subdue those of Costelagh by the men of Tallon, and those men of Tallon, by those that lived in the Carragh. This deponent understood not the meaning of this project, but gave his lordship this answer, '*It is dangerous to have any commerce with such men, and when man tempted God he usually redoubled his temptations on him.*' This deponent asked him (Lord Mayo) what he would do in matters of religion. He answered, he would tell him when he had time to consider of it. This deponent then said, '*Your lordship must infinitely dissemble with those men.*' He answered, '*I must dissemble.*' When this deponent urged the matter against his lordship (as utterly distasting it), for, howbeit the matter were lawful in itself, as it was propounded unto him, yet he feared the event (*i.e.* the result). But Mr. Bringhurst answered that there was an absolute necessity, and it could not be avoided, and then this deponent urged the matter no further. Then the Lord of Mayo sent unto Sir Henry Bingham, and desired a consultation with him and others of his council in Castlebar, about the matter propounded to this deponent, but the said Sir Henry, fearing some interruption on the way, durst not give him the meeting. In the end my Lord of Mayo propounded the matter unto him (Bingham) in writing, in the same manner and to the effect he had formerly propounded it to this deponent, desiring that if Sir Henry and the rest of his council approved of it, they would put their hands to it. Sir Henry approved and set his hand unto it with the rest of his

council, Mr. Barnard, Mr. Bohannon, Dean Fergus (or Varges). The Lord of Mayo having received this, Mr. Bringhurst put his hand to it with Archdeacon Gilbert. This deponent being the last durst not refuse to put his hand to it, having so fair an appearance.

Immediately upon this the deponent perceived motions towards Popery in my Lord of Mayo's house, the English persuading each other to go to mass, and a Popish book of controversy was sent (as he conceived) unto my lord, which, coming to the hand of Mr. Bringhurst, he desired this deponent to answer the same, the which he began to do in the exercise of his ministry on the Sabbath day. But fearing my lord revolting, he told him that howbeit he, this deponent, was resolved to die for his religion, yet he would go to mass if he could not answer that book. His lordship replied that it was one thing to answer, and another thing to give a satisfactory answer. By this deponent considered of what not long after fell out. For the titulary Archbishop of Tuam, by name Laughlin Kelly, coming unto him the said Lord Mayo was (as this deponent was credibly told) then reconciled to the Romish church. About that time Sir Henry Bingham sent unto my Lord of Mayo a letter to this effect, '*I understand your lordship is gone to mass; I am your servant in what way soever your lordship shall walk.*' This deponent heard of this letter in the house about the time that my Lord of Mayo and Sir Henry went to mass. All or most of the English then followed them, insomuch that in the whole county of Mayo there remained not one clergyman or layman to preserve the memory of our religion, ten persons only excepted, viz., the Viscountess Mayo, the Lady Bourke, Mrs. Burley, Mrs. Tarbock, Mrs. Hanmer, Owen the butler, Alice the cookmaid, this deponent's wife, and Grace, her child's nurse, and this deponent himself. And this deponent is verily persuaded that those of the laity that turned to mass did amount to about one thousand in number, in the county Mayo aforesaid, all the ministers, saving this deponent, some being fled, some murdered, and the rest turned to mass. Amongst the rest Mr. Johnson, the Vicar of Urris (*sic*), turned to mass. But this deponent, by the Lord of Mayo's expressed permission, continued his ministry still in the said Lord's house, and disputed with the priest that came to seduce the ladies, and publicly answered such Romish books of controversy as were given by the said priest unto the ladies, insomuch that, as this deponent hath heard from my lord and several others, that he (Lord Mayo) hath been much maligned and persecuted about him.

Both the ladies were continually assaulted (*i.e.* urged), and

laboured (*i.e.* earnestly asked) to go to mass by the priest, and amongst others had one book of controversy delivered them, wherein it was undertaken that Protestants should be confuted out of their own Bibles. The said Mr. Bringhurst, seeming to affect that book, told this deponent it was a shrewd book. This deponent saith he would answer the same, which partly he did presently in words. Then Mr. Bringhurst desired him to answer it in writing, but this deponent, having been deprived of his books, told him he would nevertheless answer it in his ministry, and accordingly took a text for it on purpose, and answered the particulars in the presence of those who seemed to be thereby satisfied. Several other books were sent to the ladies, the viscount and Mr. Bringhurst being turned to mass, the ladies and women aforenamed, and the butler Owen, still continued Protestants, the deponent answering the books from time to time. At length, Sir Richard Blake, knight, bringing to the ladies a most eminent priest, surnamed Brown, who hearing this deponent's name was Gouldsmith, said he would try whether he were gold or tin. Whereupon a disputation being urged by the ladies, was there had betwixt them publicly, and many, both of Protestants and Papists, were there present. Wherein that priest was so discouraged, or rather overcome, with fair argument, illustrating the truth of God's just cause defended by this deponent, that when the said Brown was asked to renew the disputation he refused, but gave the viscountess another book of controversy, which, at the same lady's request, this deponent answered publicly. The said titulary Archbishop Kelly reproved the said Lord of Mayo for suffering that disputation, and keeping this deponent to exercise his ministry, and maintaining two religions in his house, saying that his lordship must deliver up him (this deponent) to them. '*What will you do with him?*' said the Lord of Mayo. '*We will*,' said the titulary archbishop, '*send him to his friends*.' '*No*,' said my lord, '*you would send him to Shrule to be slain as you did others*.' '*But whenever*,' said his lordship, '*you give me six of your priests, to be bound body for body, for his safe keeping and conveying to his friends, I will deliver him to you*.' The titulary archbishop rejected that notion. Yet he so far prevailed with the Lord of Mayo (as this deponent supposeth) that his lordship, so far as he could, silenced and confined this deponent to a private part of the house, so that henceforth, for a long time, he durst not publicly exercise, nor publicly appear in the house, for fear of being murdered by the bloody people who lived in or frequented the house. Nevertheless,

this deponent did not utterly desist from his ministry and preaching, but still on the Sabbath days exercised the same privately, sometimes in the presence of one and no more, other times to two, and seldom to more at once. At length, when the old lady perceived that her servants heard divine service privately, and not she herself, she grew to such earnest impatience and boldness, that she plainly told her lord, as the deponent heard, that she would not be an atheist, but would again enjoy the ministry; whereupon she prevailed so far, that henceforth this deponent exercised his functions to those few remaining Protestants until he came from thence.

And this deponent further saith, that whilst he stayed in the dangers aforesaid, in the Lord of Mayo's house, the said Sir Henry Bingham's castle of Castlebar was beleaguered by the rebels, under Edmund Burke, of the Owles in the county of Mayo, gentleman. And then he, the said Sir Henry, desired the Lord of Mayo to take Castlebar from him, and to keep it for his use, for that he himself could hold it no longer. Whereupon the Lord of Mayo came thither with his forces, but the rest in the castle being of a contrary opinion to Sir Henry, and not consenting to part with it, his lordship and his forces returned home.

About this time, the Lord Bishop of Killala having formerly lost and been deprived of his castle and goods, contracted with one Bourke of Castlelaken, as this deponent was informed, to give him a safe convoy, but the same Bourke, dealing most perfidiously with him, brought him unto the camp of the said Edmund Burke, as he was beleaguering Castlebar aforesaid, who purposed to have forced and put the said bishop upon the engine or sow (as this deponent heard from the rebels themselves), which he and the rest had prepared for undermining and breaking down the castle, purposing that if anyone from the castle should shoot against the sow they might hit the bishop their friend, whereof the Lord Mayo having notice, he writ a letter unto the said Bourke the convoy, blaming him for his perfidiousness, and signifying plainly unto him that if he did not deal with the bishop according to his promise, he would deal with him as an enemy wherever he met him. Whereupon the said Bourke brought the bishop within sight of the said Lord of Mayo's house, and there left him. The Lord of Mayo then went forth to meet the bishop, and took him and his family home, where he kindly entertained them, and gave him a band to put about his neck and a shirt which he wanted, and kept him and his wife and children ten days together and five or six of his ministers.

At the same time, Sir Henry Bingham sent to my Lord of Mayo again, desiring him to take his castle, for he could hold out no longer. And when the rest that were in his castle differed in opinion from him (as it was confidently reported), the said Sir Henry, privately and unknown to them, contracted and agreed with the Lord of Mayo to deliver him up the said castle, upon a private token, viz., upon the putting forth of a flag. And the said Sir Henry, as this deponent was told not long before by some that were then in the house, broke forth into passionate speeches against the people in the castle, saying, '*I will make a gaol delivery of you all.*' Then the Lord of Mayo came thither with an army, drove away the said Edmund Bourke, and entered and possessed the castle. But what quarter the said Sir Henry procured for those in his castle, this deponent knows not. But it hath been most confidently and generally reported unto this deponent, by Sir Henry's people then in the castle, that they all went forth without their weapons.

My Lord of Mayo being to convey all those of Castlebar to Galway, viz., Sir Henry with all his company, the Bishop of Killala with all his company, with many of the neighbouring English, being about threescore in number, whereof there were some fifteen ministers, covenanted with one Edmund Bourke for the safe convoy of the same parties, upon a certain day. And the said Lord of Mayo appointed them all to meet him at Belcarah (*sic*), having first separated this deponent from them, to attend his lady in the work of the ministry. At which day, the said titulary Archbishop and the Lord of Mayo, meeting with their whole number, went on their journey to Shrule, at which place the Lord of Mayo left them in the custody of the last-named Edmund Bourke. But as the said Mr. Bringhurst told this deponent, the Lord of Mayo had not gone far from them, when the said Edmund Bourke drew out his sword, directing the rest what they should do, and began to massacre the Protestants, and accordingly some were shot to death, some stabbed with skeans, some run through with pikes, some cast into the water and drowned, and the women that were stripped naked, throwing themselves upon their husbands to save them, were run through with pikes, and very few of the English then there escaped, but the most were murdered on the place. Amongst the rest the Bishop of Killala escaped with his life, but was then and there wounded in the head. And one Mr. Crowe, a minister, was then and there so beaten with cudgels on his feet that he died

shortly after, the other ministers being then and there slain. And this deponent further saith, that in the town of Sligo forty persons English and Scottish were by the rebels stripped and locked up in a cellar. And about midnight a butcher was sent into them for that purpose, who with his axe knocked them all on the head, and so then and there murdered them, which butcher coming afterwards to Castlebar did there confess his bloody acts. In Tirawley, in the county of (*blank*), about thirty or forty persons English formerly turned Papists had their choice given them to die by the sword or to drown. They making choice of drowning were brought to the seaside by the rebels who had their skeans drawn in their hands and forced them to wade into the sea, the mothers with their children in their arms crying for milk, having waded to the chin at length cast themselves or dived themselves down into the sea, with the children, yielding themselves to the mercy of the waves, and so perished. The torments the rebels used to make the Protestants confess their money, were these, viz.,

Some they would take, and twist and strain withes (ropes) about their heads, until the blood sprang out of the crowns of their heads.

Others they would hang until they were half dead, then they would let them down, and do the same so often, until they confessed their money.

And this deponent further saith, that a young boy of about fifteen years of age, the son of Mr. Montgomery, the minister, meeting with a bloody rebel who had been his schoolmaster, the rebel drew his skean, and began to slash and cut him (the boy) therewith. The boy cried unto him, 'Good master, do not kill me, but whip me as much as you will,' nevertheless, the merciless and cruel rebel then and there most barbarously murdered him. A Scotchman, travelling on the highway with his wife and children, they were beset by the rebels, who wounded and stabbed him with their pikes, put him alive upon a car, brought him to a ditch, and buried him alive, as his poor wife afterwards told this deponent.

The Vicar of Urris, before mentioned, turned Papist, and became drummer to Captain Bourke, and was afterwards murdered for his pains by the rebels. Another Scotchman, near Ballihone, was hanged by the rebels. One Robert Kearns, who was brother-in-law to Sir Henry Bingham, and one that turned Papist, told this deponent, who verily believeth the report to be true, that an eminent priest, since the cessation of arms in this kingdom, had scornfully

avowed unto him that howbeit that pacification was projected by the lay gentry of the country, that he and the rest, meaning the Popish clergy, being the discontented parties in the country, were otherwise purposed. And that they had their agents beyond seas to draw aid to Ireland to maintain and continue the war against the English. One Captain Barrett, of Urris, aforesaid, a rebel, earnestly affirmed to this deponent that the Pope had collected 15,000*l.* for the maintenance of these wars on the Irish Catholics' part.

Divers other Irish rebels at Castlebar told him, this deponent, that there were great preparations, and many French and other engineers making up strength and fortifications in Galway, for continuing the war of the Papists against the Protestants, notwithstanding the cessation of arms. And this deponent further saith, that although Mr. Bringhurst aforenamed turned and went to mass, yet he, this deponent, afterwards heard several men about him consulting to fling the said Mr. Bringhurst over the walls at Castlebar, as he, this deponent, heard. And this deponent, because he still kept up and maintained the ministry while he stayed in the same county, was therefore much maligned and hated, so that he was in continual danger of his life, and the rather because his religion was hated and persecuted by the Papists on one side, and contemned, or at least slighted, by all or most of the English left within the said counties of Mayo and Sligo. And before this rebellion began, because this deponent too well knew in what blindness and ignorance the poor children of the Irish Papists in his parish, and in other parts of the kingdom, were brought up, and that not they alone, but their parents were totally ignorant of the grounds, precepts, and rudiments of God's true religion, therefore he, as became one of his function, used all the fair and gentle and prevalent persuasions and arguments he could to draw them to learn and understand the same, and to resort to this deponent's house to gain instruction there and likewise to converse with him privately on matters of their religion tending to their salvation. By which means and by divers good turns and courtesies done unto them by him, to his no little cost, he brought many to their catechism, some of whom, to his great grief, suffered by the rebels. And because this deponent would the rather invite and draw the poor children of his parish to be catechised and instructed by him, as also the children of the richer sort, though Papists, he did by all ways and gentle means seek to draw them unto him, by which way he brought many to be catechised every Sabbath day, and at other

times. And often their parents, though Papists, would be present and approve of his labours with their sons, and would say, '*there is nothing amiss in this that you teach them*,' wishing that their priests would do as much. And for the poorer sort, this deponent in the counties of Westmeath and Mayo gave the parents of the children some money, and lent them divers cows freely, sometimes by about twenty-two at once, for a good time together, and sometimes a milch cow for two years; sometimes three years or divers cows by thirteen at once, to suffer their children to come to him to be catechised and instructed in the grounds of the true Protestant religion. Whereby many were drawn to understand God's word and truth, and the church whereof he had the cure began to flourish and be accommodated with a fair and competent auditory. Notwithstanding which bounty, charity, care, and pains of his, which here he expresseth, not in any vainglorious ostentation, or for popular applause, he conceiving himself bound in conscience to do it, and more, if he had been able, his ungrateful and rebellious neighbours and parishioners, and their confederates hereinafter named, robbed and stripped him, his wife, children, and family of all, therefore he conceiveth the matter to be personal. Only he hath heard of two or three tradesmen to whom some small pittance hath been restored, which was but to fit them for their trades, whereby they might (as this deponent conceiveth) be helpful to the rebels. For their personal hatred was such, that although all the English without the castle of Castlebar, in number about fourscore or one hundred, went to mass, yet they have been so violently assaulted by the rebels, that the Lord of Mayo had much ado to save their lives; yea, the great ones have been so far from disapproving the murders committed in that county, that he never heard of more than two murderers punished for their bloody acts, one whereof escaped with a whipping only, and the other with a little restraint of liberty, and was then enlarged. Yea, the great ones in the said county have been so far from commiserating the extreme poverty, misery, and famine, of the English, or enforcing restitution, that, as this deponent conceiveth, by what he heard in the Lord of Mayo's house, no great number of the gentry of that county can say 'I washed my hands in innocency,' or could wipe their mouths and say, 'I have eaten no English beef,' for the best gentlemen and house-keepers of the Irish, within the territory of the Owles, where this deponent lived, robbed this deponent of his goods and chattels, by name Hugh Oge McCane, of Castleleaffe, in

the county of Mayo, gent., Tibbot Kelly, of Brashowle, in the said county, gent., Randal McDonnell, of the Bridge of Ballyveaghan, in the same county, gent., Edmund Oge, of Rossnafeare, in the same county, gent., Turlogh Reagh, of (*illegible*), near Brashowle, and others of good quality. Neither was the robbery, or the said murders, nor any other in Mayo, committed upon the Protestants in the time of combustion or uproar of the Irish and English fighting one against the other, but the rebels began against the English in the time of their sleepy security, lying at mercy, like lambs in the hands of the shearer, not daring so much as to ask those rebels why they acted so. So that they have the sole and peaceable possession of the Englishmen's goods, without domestic insurrection, opposal, or foreign invasion, during the whole time of these wars, so far as he could possibly be informed. Only as this deponent heard, Sir Charles Coote made two short inroads or starts into Costellogh, lying upon the borders of Mayo, and took away some cattle from those that were or had been in rebellion.

JOHN GOULDSMITH.

Jurat. 30*th Dec.* 1643,
HEN. JONES.
HEN. BRERETON.

Note.

The deponent probably owed his life to the influence of his Roman Catholic brother, and to Malone, whom he styles 'the arch-Jesuit.' The Nuncio wrote bitter complaints of Malone to Rome, and in fact of almost all the order. He wrote from Galway on the 4th of July, 1648, to Cardinal Panzirolo at Rome: 'The Jesuits, as usual, devoted to their own interests, have declared against us, and induced several bishops and monks to do the same,' and after his return to France, he wrote from Orleans on May 19th, 1649, a curious letter to the General of the Jesuits, in which he says, after recounting the kindnesses he had shown the order in Ireland, and the ungrateful return made him: 'These circumstances will convince your reverence that under conduct so strange there must lurk some hidden end which I am sure your wisdom will soon discover' (*The Embassy in Ireland, translated by Annie Hutton, p.* 474). He thought it due to the fact of the Jesuits who opposed him being, as he says, 'not of old Irish blood;' but Malone, his chief opponent, the Provincial of the Order in Ireland, was, needless to say, of that blood. Both the General and Provincial were in full accord, carry-

ing on their old scheme for securing the Catholic succession on the English throne, even at the cost of an interregnum of republicanism under Cromwell, until Charles II. and James were fully secured for Rome. The Nuncio had the same object at heart, but he was a silly and vainglorious bungler, and the Order despised while it envied him. In a memoir which he drew up for the Pope after his return to Italy, he says that the 'Jesuits have never rendered any service to the king, and always showed the greatest deference for Cromwell.' (*Ibid. p.* 547.)

Miles Bourke, second Lord Mayo (of the old creation), died in 1649; his son, the third Lord, was tried on the 30th December, 1652, for his conduct at Shrule, and was condemned and shot in January, 1653. According to Dr. Brady's *Irish Reformation* (p. 152), Malachi Queely was Archbishop of Tuam in 1641.

CX.

The Examination of Elizabeth Hanly, *wife of John Hanly of Loughrea (formerly called Elizabeth Barrett, wife of William Barrett, clerk, in the county of Mayo), examined upon oath before Robert Clarke, one of the commissioners for the administration of justice in the precinct of Galway,* 1652, *taken at Tirrelane (sic)* 8*th of November,* 1652.

Who being (*illegible*) saith that she was living in the county of Mayo, at Castlebar aforesaid, under Sir Henry Bingham, her husband, William Barrett, being minister of the said parish in the first year of the Irish rebellion, when she with her said husband, deceased, and three children, and the substance of their household goods, went into the said castle of Castlebar for their security, and there continued with Sir Henry Bingham a quarter of a year, when Miles Bourke, Lord Viscount Mayo, and his confederates besieged the same, which was by the said Sir Henry Bingham delivered unto the said Miles Bourke upon conditions, one of which was that the said Bourke should convey the said English of the said castle, which went thither for security, to the town of Galway. And two days after the surrender, they (the besieged English) were commanded to go out of the said castle, by the said Miles, Lord of Mayo. The first night they came to Ballinacarra, the second night to Ballinrobe, the third night to the Neale, the fourth night to one Walter Bourk's, in the county of Galway, and the next day were brought back again to

Shrule, and lodged there that night, being Saturday. On Sunday morning this deponent heard Miles, Lord of Mayo, command the English, small and great, to march over the bridge of Shrule, which accordingly they did; the English party going before and the Irish party that came with the Lord of Mayo after them. The Lord of Mayo himself, with some of his followers, went to a little hill, about a pistol-shot off, and there looked on. This deponent further saith, that when the English desired to remain there on the county of Mayo side, the said Miles, Lord of Mayo, told them they must go, and some who did linger were driven over, and before this deponent and her husband did enter on the bridge, they did see a party on the other side of the bridge, who did strip and kill the first party of the English that went over. This deponent, seeing the same, leaped off the horse and desired her husband not to go over, and ran back to Miles, Lord of Mayo, desiring him to save them, and his answer was, that he could not help it; and being further examined this deponent saith, that, when she and her husband and children did endeavour to stay back, one of the Irish took her said husband by his horse's bridle, and said he must come over, and he (her husband) seeing John Brown of the Neale, did take him by the hand, and desired him to help, who answered he could not save himself, upon which her said husband, going over, was killed, herself stripped naked, and her child, and wounded and left for dead. And this deponent being further examined, saith, that she did see Theobald Bourke, son of the said Lord of Mayo, go over the said bridge from the murderers, after divers Englishmen were killed. And also she deposeth, that she did see the said Theobald on that side of the bridge in the morning (where they had lain all night) before the murder was committed, with his father Miles, and their confederates. And also did she see William (*illegible*) three sons, fosterers to the said Miles, with their guns shooting at the English, as also the Clan Phillepins, and the Donnellans, and the Clangibbins, fosterers to the Lord of Mayo, she did see killing of the English. And being examined further, she deposeth that one Miles Bourke, who lived some two miles from Shrule, called then by the name of Captain Burke, she did see active in putting the English forward over the bridge to the murderers, and that she heard his three sons were there, and she did also see one Walter Farris, who is now living in the Owles, present there with many others, and further saith not.

Eliza Barrett + her mark.
alias Hanley.

Robert Clark.

And this examt. further saith, that she knoweth one Richard Baly (*sic*), who is now living with John Browne at the Neale, who was an Englishman that escaped from the said murder.

CXI.

Richard Bayley, aged twenty-three years or thereabouts, being examined upon oath, saith, that he went to Shruel with his father and mother, in the company of Mr. Beucannon, whom he saw shot at by the Irish, and that my Lord of Mayo's guard fell upon the English, having surrounded them. And further saith, that Sir Tibbot Bourke, now Lord of Mayo, at the time that the English were being murdered rode away with a dozen foot.

Richard Bayley.

17*th Nov.* 1652.
John Eyre.
Chas. Coote.

CXII.

The deposition of James Bayley, *aged thirty years or thereabouts, taken upon oath before the under-named Commissioners on the* 23*rd of November*, 1652, *at Belleek.*

Who saith that his father was tenant to Mr. Bohannon (*sic*), who was murdered at Shrule, and that in the beginning of the rebellion, his said father with his family and others of the English in Srade, were plundered and turned out of their houses by the Costellogh men, who were these: namely, Dudley Costello, and his brother Thomas, and one John Duffe O'Costello was then, to this examt.'s knowledge, at Srade aforesaid, who did abuse the inhabitants there and among other plunder took their bibles, which he flung in their faces, when they came to him for their goods. Thereupon, Mr. Beucannon (*sic*) went to the Lord of Mayo to seek aid from him against such robbers, notwithstanding which he got no relief, but with the number of four hundred men, the said lord went into the barony of Costello, and though the enemy were inconsiderable, yet there was none of them apprehended, as this examt. knoweth. Upon which, the above-mentioned English and Scotch plundered fled to Castlebar, where they continued until those of Tirawley besieged them, with whom the said Lord Mayo joined, and blocked up the said English until, by Sir Harry Bingham's means, they surrendered the castle. And, as this examt. heard from some Irish gentlemen, the said castle was given up to the said Lord of Mayo by the said Sir

Henry Bingham, without Mr. Beucannon's privity thereunto, and the said Irish gentlemen did say Mr. Beucannon did declare, that if he had known Sir Henry Bingham would have surrendered, he would have turned out the said Sir Henry and have kept the castle for himself, and the rest of the English and Scotch. And saith, that Tibbot Bourke, now Lord of Mayo, was the first man that entered into the castle aforesaid. And they, the besieged, being turned out of the said castle, went to Ballinrobe, the said Lord of Mayo being their convoy; the next day they came to the Neale, where they continued for one night, and on the morrow they parted, leaving Sir Henry Bingham there under the pretence of being sick, though this examt. could not perceive any such thing. And that John Browne, of the Neale aforesaid, at the request of the said Lord of Mayo, the said lord telling him that if he did not go along with them he would lie with his men a second night at the said Mr. Browne's house, he, the said Mr. Browne, came along with them to one Walter *ne bally* Burke's house near Shrule, where they stayed that night, by reason that the Lord of Mayo would go no further than the county of Mayo. And on the next day, in the morning, intending to come into the county of Galway and having no convoy, Mr. Beucannon, as this examt. heard, went to the Lord of Mayo to desire a guard to conduct them safe through Galway to Galway fort, to whom the said Lord of Mayo answered, that he was not bound by any articles to conduct any of them through the county of Galway but the said Sir Henry Bingham (*illegible*). Thereupon, Mr. Beucannon went away over the bridge of Shruel, with the rest of the English, and no sooner was the said Mr. Beucannon over the said bridge, but his horse was shot by a musketeer from off the hedge, there being but two musketeers there in sight, and when the said Beucannon's horse was shot, Mr. Beucannon crying out that he would give Ireland for a sword, one Edmund Burke riding down struck him over the head, telling him that there was a sword for him. And having so done, all the Irish on both sides of the water fell upon the English and Scotch, stripping and killing as many as they could catch.

JAMES BAYLEY.

This Examination was taken before us the day above mentioned,
CHARLES HOLCROFT.
JOHN EYRE.

CXIII.

Jane Maxfield, widow, being duly sworn, saith, that she with her husband, Robert Maxfield, were in Castlebar when it was surrendered to the Lord of Mayo, and went along with the English that were in the said castle towards Shrule, and saith that she saw Sir Tibbot Burke, now Lord of Mayo, amongst the Irish party that conveyed the said English that morning that the murder was committed; and she saith that they lay on Friday night at one Walter Burke's house in the county of Galway, and the next day were carried back over the bridge of Shrule, and lay in Shrule that night, and the next day being Sunday, as they passed over the bridge of Shrule towards Galway, there was a party before them, and a party behind them, which fell upon them on both sides, and saith that the convoy which came with them from Castlebar were among the murderers, and she heard from the Irish party afterwards that the convoy was as deep in the murder as the rest, and she saith that her said husband was killed there, with divers other men and women and children. And saith, that the murder was committed a little after Christmas, in the year 1641, and being asked how she knew the said Sir Tibbot Burke, she saith that being on their way to Shruel the Bishop of Killala's children were stripped by some of the convoy, and this examt. seeing Sir Tibbot on horseback, asked who he was, and hearing that he was the Lord of Mayo's son, she complained to him of the stripping of the said children, who rode a little way after the plunderers, but returned without causing any restitution to be made. She further saith, that when any of the English stayed back ever so little behind the rest, they were stripped and plundered by the said convoy. Being further examined whether John Browne of the Neale was present at the said murder, she saith she knoweth not, and further cannot say.

Jane + Maxwell.

30*th Dec.* 1652. *Taken before us,*
Chas. Coote.
Fran. Gore.

Note.

The name Maxwell is commonly spelt Maxfield in more than one deposition. Tibbot is a corruption of Theobald, a common christian name in the family of the now extinct Viscounts Mayo of the old creation. (*v.* Archdall's Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, vol. iv. pp. 235–245.)

CXIV.

(*Extract.*)

'Henry Bringhurst, duly sworn and examined, saith, that on the 13th day of February, 1641, a convoy was given by the Lord of Mayo unto the Bishop of Killala, with his wife, children, and servants, and together with them, many other persons both English and Scottish, whom the Lord of Mayo with his son Sir Tibbot Bourke did in person accompany from Castlebar, Kinturk and Belcurra, with five companies of soldiers for their better security, into the town of Shrule, where two companies of soldiers were to receive them over the bridge of Shrule, being within the county Galway. And for their better and more safe convoy, the titulary Archbishop of Tuam faithfully promised the Lord of Mayo to accompany them with his lordship and several priests and friars, to see them safely conveyed and delivered in Galway, or at the fort of Galway. And they being all come safe to Shrule, upon a Saturday night, the (*blank*) of February, the Lord of Mayo provided for them that night, at the house of Sergeant Robert Lambert, and other houses in the town, and the next day for their dinner, and that night lay in one chamber and upon one bed with the Bishop of Killala, whose wife and children, according to his desire, lay in the next chamber to them. The next day being Sunday (that bloody day), the gentlemen of the barony of Kilmaine, finding themselves much charged and burthened by the soldiers having lain upon them four nights together, entreated to be eased of them by sending them away to their homes, for that they had brought them to the end of the county Mayo, where they were to be received by the company of Murrogh *ne doe* O'Flaherty, and Ulick Burke of Castle-hackett, who lay that night within two miles of Shruel, and were with them when they came thither, but were gone that night to lodge in the county Galway, and appointed to meet the company at Kilnamanagh, about a mile from Shruel, upon Sunday morning. Upon the earnest request of the country the Lord of Mayo dismissed all his companies, and gave them license to depart thence home, except one company, under the command of Captain William Bourke, who lived within a mile of Shruel, or little more, which company being then commanded by one Edmund Bourke, brother and ensign unto the said William, was stayed and appointed to convey the company from thence to Kilnamanagh, unto the two companies there appointed to receive

them, for that they were not come, as was promised, to Shrewle to receive them. And the day being far spent, and the march long, it being fourteen miles from thence to Galway, and having no place nearer for the poor travellers to lodge that night than Clare, which was ten miles, and it being almost twelve o'clock, the said wicked Ensign Edmund Bourke having, with his wicked company, been at mass, and the titulary bishop having failed to send other priests or friars according to his promise, and the town not able to provide for all that company another night, the said murderer Edmund Bourke desired to go with them to Kilnamanagh, where he (said he) would undertake both the convoy and the safe delivery of them, unto the two (Galway) companies appointed to receive them. Whereupon, it suiting with the desires of the travellers, they being very desirous to get to Galway fort, the Lord of Mayo furnished them with horses of his own and his son's. So that his son had not a horse left to go with him. And having seen the Bishop, with his wife and children, and the rest of his company that had horses, put on horseback, the Lord of Mayo took leave of them, and so they departed from him, who not having his men ready to go away with him, stood looking at them going over the bridge. And then in the end, perceiving some of their carriages that were on the bridge fallen down, and finding the soldiers rather willing to be pillaging or catching away their goods than helping them, his Lordship presently sent over his son Sir Tibbot to keep the soldiers in order, and to cause the English to be sent safely away, and accompanied with only two or three horsemen himself, rode away towards Cong to Sir Tibbot's house, which was but six miles from Shruel. Who, notwithstanding that he (Lord Mayo) rode a good round pace, for that the weather was very cold, intended to alight and wait for his son at the house of one Andrew Lynch, two miles short of Cong; a messenger, as he was ready to alight, came to him, and told him that presently after he was out of sight, the said Edmund Bourke and his whole company fell upon the Bishop and his whole company, wounded the Bishop, stripped his wife and children, and all the rest, and murdered some of them, and were about to murder all the rest. Whereupon the Lord of Mayo went instantly into a chamber, and there wept bitterly, pulling off his hair, and refusing to hear any word of persuasion, and comfort, or to be patient, having no manner of means left him at that time to be revenged for that inhuman and bloody massacre, and the irreparable dishonour done unto himself, besides that he feared the loss of his son, and that

now they were entered into blood, they would fall upon himself, being then a Protestant, and some few English then about him, together with his son's wife and children, and some of the English with her at Cong. And within half an hour after the before-named messenger came Sir Tibbot Bourke, who with tears related the tragic event of that bloody massacre, but could not truly tell who were killed in particular, or who escaped. And he, Sir Tibbot, being demanded by his father why he had come away from Shrule and had not rather preserved them, or had died with them, answered that when they the rebels had begun to fall to slaughter, they charged at him both with their pikes and muskets, and would have killed him, but that John Garvy, the Sheriff of Mayo, who was brother-in-law to that bloody butcher Edmund Bourke, the prime murderer, came in betwixt him, Sir Tibbot, and them, took him in his arms, and, by the assistance of some of the company, carried him by force over the bridge, and there brought him a horse, and bade him to begone after his father, for that he could do no good there, but would be killed or endangered if he opposed them. Whereupon he came away. But his father, fearing further dangers, commanded him (Sir Tibbot) forthwith and with all speed, to begone to Cong, and there to secure himself in his castle, with his wife and children, and the rest of the English with them, as Mrs. Bringhurst, who lay there very sick, and to take with him this deponent, her husband, and to be well assured of the guard of the Castle there, and the Lord of Mayo came not to Cong, until the next day, but lay that night in the thatched house, grown desperate and in despair of himself. And the next day when he came to Cong, he went immediately to bed, where he lay for two or three days without taking any sustenance. And the third day he went to the house of the titulary Archbishop, being within a quarter of a mile, where he was that day reconciled to mass, by the titulary Archbishop. And two days after he took his way to a great meeting of the county at the town of Mayo. From whence he went home to Castlebar. After which time he was with, or for the most part under the command of, the Romish clergy. . . . Shortly after the murders the Lord of Mayo, by his letter to the Lord of Clanricarde, entreated a meeting near that place, desiring Commissioners to examine and find out the certain actors in that bloody tragedy, which was concluded to be at Shrule, some ten days or a fortnight after by Commissioners from both counties. But the day being, as it seemeth, mistaken, the Commissioners for the county of Galway only appeared. At which time Edmund

Bourke, that traitorous murderer, with divers other rude barbarous uncivil people, his accomplices and companions, armed and ready for further mischief, came to them the Commissioners, and in a peremptory manner demanded the cause of their coming there, and said if it were to know who killed the people at Shrule, they needed not to trouble themselves, for that he affirmed to them it was he that killed them, and that he would do it again, if it were to be done, in spite of Clanricarde and Mayo, or any other that should oppose him, with divers other words of dishonour and opprobrium to their ordships. Whereupon the Commissioners, finding little business and less safety to stay there any longer for that cause, departed and went away making report to the Earl of Clanricarde of what they found.'

Note.

The rest of Mr. Bringhurst's long deposition relates to his losses and to the murders at Sligo and elsewhere, of which he had only heard. The above passages, however, are rather valuable, as he was an eye-witness of Lord Mayo's conduct, and much in his confidence. Mr. Bringhurst, who is said to have apostatised, at least for a time, is a decidedly favourable witness as regards Lord Mayo and his son, and endeavours to make the best case he can for them, and for Sir Henry Bingham, but the picture he gives us of the former flying from the unhappy party he had promised to protect in their hour of danger, and betaking himself to his bed like a woman to weep and wail, from whence he rose only to kneel to his priests, is anything but a favourable one. Lord Mayo and his son in truth were either weak cowards or base hypocrites, and it is a total mistake to lament over them as brave cavaliers who fell because they were faithful to Church and king. Their pseudo rule over their clan, and even that of Clanricarde himself, it was evident, was over before Cromwell came to replace it by a real rule of justice and vigour. Until his arrival not a murderer was brought to justice, they, the MacPhillipins (a sept of the Burkes), O'Flaherties, O'Malleys, O'Higgins, Creans, Prendergasts, wandered at liberty over Galway and Mayo, showing the gold rings and clothes and other goods they had taken from the murdered at Shrule and other places, subsequently enjoying themselves as triumphant patriots and soldiers. From the following deposition it will be seen that Lord Mayo threw all the blame on his Archbishop.

CXV.

The Examination of the Lord of Mayo, *taken before two of the Commissioners for the administration of justice for the precincts of Galway, touching the murder committed at Shrule, in the year* 1641, *or thereabouts.*

The said examt. saith, that he waited upon his father, Myles Bourke, late Viscount Mayo, to Shrewle aforesaid, and that he had only two horsemen and a footman, who were his servants to attend him, and also saith that he was present at the surrender of Castlebar, and that the English that were there that did belong to Sir Henry Bingham, such of them as pleased, went along with Sir Henry to Ballinrobe, and meeting with other Englishmen and Scots in the way, and before their coming to Ballinrobe aforesaid, they rested at a place called Dunam (*illegible*), where the titular Archbishop of Tuam, and most of the gentry of the barony of Kilmaine, came to the Lord of Mayo, this examt.'s father, and told him in the name of the inhabitants of that barony, that himself and his priests and the gentry thereof would convey the said English where they intended to go, if there were no other train but themselves to set or press upon that barony, and that if he did not leave the conveyance of the English unto themselves the Archbishop, priests and gentry, they would rise in arms against him. And notwithstanding, at the entreaty of the said Sir Henry Bingham and others of the English, the said late Lord of Mayo accepted of their assistance, and went also himself with twelve foot and as many horse to Ballinrobe aforesaid, and from thence to Neale, where the said Sir Henry Bingham fell sick, and the rest being desirous to hasten away, the said Lord Mayo desired the said Archbishop and the rest that promised to assist their conveyance to go along with him; which being done, the said Archbishop and his people fled away from him, about three miles from Shrule aforesaid, which was a day or two before the murder, and to the best of his remembrance, the English lay the night before the murder at Kinlaugh in Walter Burke's town, which is bordering with the county Galway and Mayo, and from thence the next day they went to a hill the other side of Shrule, where they descried about seven score or eight score men in arms, this side of Shrule in the county of Galway, being two companies belonging to Morrogh O'Flaherty, deceased, the officers that did lead them he doth not remember, but hopes to learn them (*i.e.* their names), and Mr. Beu-

cannon descrying these men, he desired the Lord of Mayo to go that night (being somewhat late), for their better security, to some castle near adjoining, whereupon the said Lord of Mayo sent two or three messengers to Mr. Lynch, that lived in the castle of Shrule, desiring to admit them into the castle that night, which the said Lynch absolutely denied; whereupon they lay in divers houses in the town that night, and the next day the said late Lord of Mayo took leave of the said English, an hour before the murder was committed, being not well; and the Bishop of Killala's horses being stolen that night, the said Lord of Mayo took this examt.'s horses and his men's horses and gave them to the Bishop and his daughters to ride upon, and this examt. tarrying there to get horses to go away, which occasioned that he went not along with his father, the said late Lord of Mayo, and before this examt. parted Shrule, he saw some of the English set upon in the way on this side of Shrule, in the county Galway, some of them a stripping, and thereupon this examt. running over the bridge with his sword drawn, offered to assist the English and rescue them from their enemy until a shot or two was made at him; whereupon one John Garvy and others took him and conveyed him away for the safety of his life, and further saith that he knew not any of the said murderers by name, but since heard that of some of them, and further saith not.

MAYO.

15*th Nov.* 1652.
Before us Commissioners and Admnstrs. of Justice,
RICH. HULBERD.
ROB. CLERK.

THEOBALD BURKE, *Visct.*

Note.

The words 'but since heard that of some of them' have had the pen lightly drawn across them in the original.

CXVI.

The Examination of JOHN HUSSIE, *taken at Galway,* 23*rd February*, 1652.

Who, being examined, saith, that the day the murder was committed at Shrule Bridge, betwixt the county Mayo and the county of Galway, it being on a Sunday, the day of the month he cannot remember, this examt. was there; the cause of his coming thither was

to take a lease from Stephen Darcy, this deponent's foster brother, who (*illegible*) was that day at Shrule, and at his coming there he met with the old Lord of Mayo and Mr. Bringhurst going out of the town, and this deponent then going into the town did see the Englishmen and women forced over the bridge, who made a great cry; this deponent drawing nearer to the bridge did see divers of the said English murdered; some with clubs knocking them down, others shooting at them, others running them through with swords, and stabbing them with skeans; the particular persons, now living, whom he remembereth that acted in the said murders are in the list herewith annexed. And further saith not.

JOHN HUSSIE,

This Examination was
taken upon oath before us,
(*illegible*)
(*illegible*) REYNOLDS.
ROBT. CLARK.

Note.

The list is not forthcoming, having been either lost or destroyed.

CXVII.

JOHN BROWNE, of the Neale, esq., being examined, saith that he was at Shrule that morning that the murder was committed upon the English, the occasion of his being there was, that the late Lord of Mayo and the late Bishop of Killala and some English and Scotch with Sir Henry Bingham, came that night to this examt.'s house, where they lay that night after they came from Ballinrobe; and he was importuned by the said Bishop and the said Lord of Mayo to go along with them to Shrule, and further, and from Neale he went with the said English and the rest to Kinlogh, Walter Burke's town, where they stayed that night, being the night before the murder was committed, and when the English were going over the bridge at Shrule the next morning, this examt. went along on the bridge with them, and no further; and having seen some a-stripping, returned back, and immediately after heard shots go off, but saw none killed; and he further saith that he saw Sir Theobald Burke, son to the said Lord of Mayo, going over the bridge to the said county of Galway aforesaid, with the Bishop of Killala, to whom

he had lent his horses, and of the said Theobald's returning back he knoweth not; for he, this examt., rode out of the town immediately after for his own safety.

JOHN BROWNE.

Galway, 15*th Nov.* 1652.
Before the Commissioners
for administration of Justice,
PETER HULBERD.
ROB. CLARKE.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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